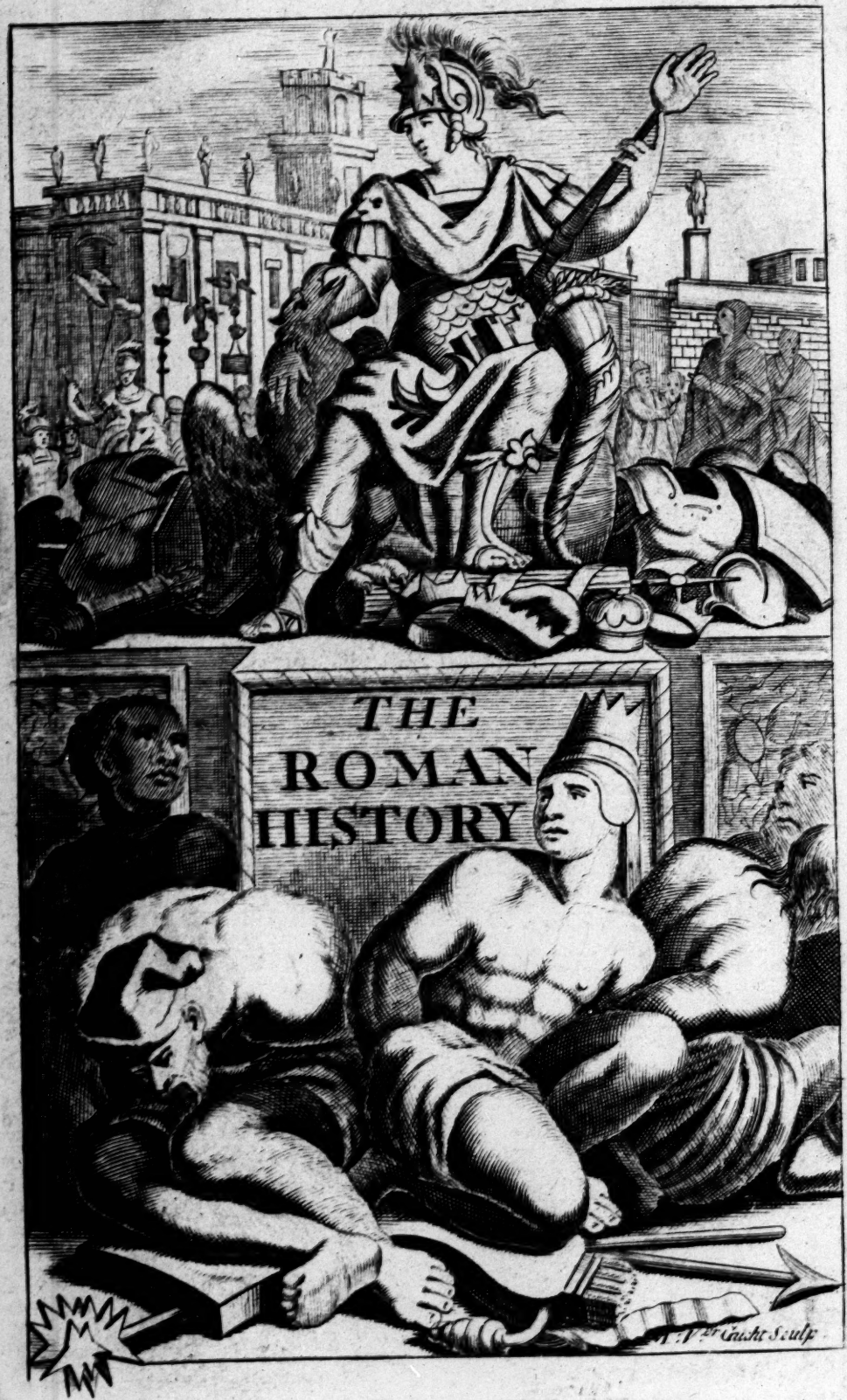
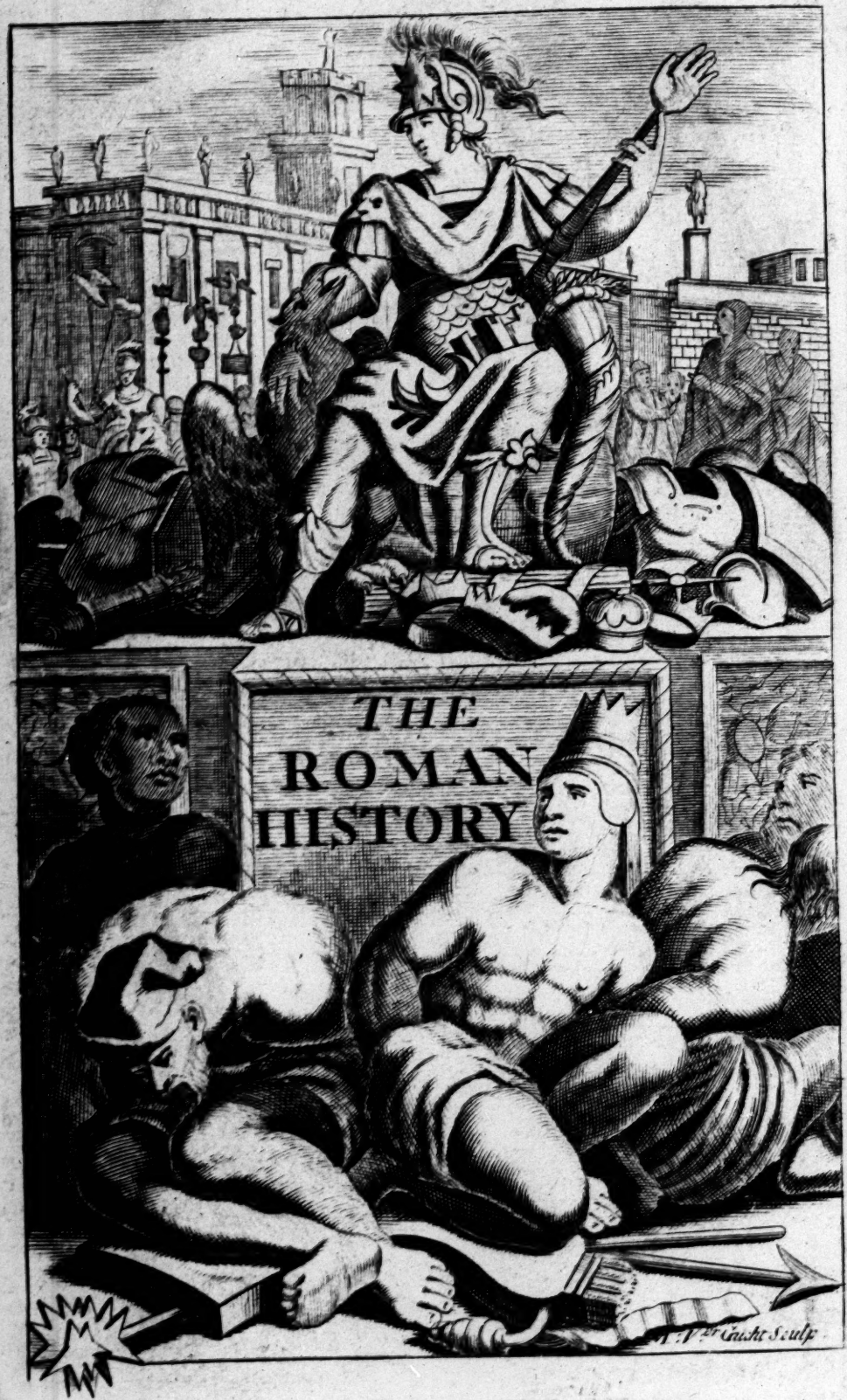

THE
ROMAN
HISTORY


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THE

ROMAN HISTORY,

FROM THE

Building of the City,

To the perfect

Settlement of the EMPIRE

BY

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR:

Containing the Space of 727 Years.

Design'd as well for the Understanding of the *Roman* Authors, as the *Roman* Affairs.

The Eighth Edition, *carefully revis'd, and much improv'd.*

By *LAURENCE ECHARD*, A.M.
Of *Christ-College* in *Cambridge.*

LONDON:
Printed for *R. Bonwick, J. Tonson, Tim. Goodwin, J. Walthoe, J. Wotton, B. Took, S. Manship, R. Wilkin, R. Smith,* and *T. Ward.* MDCCXIX.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

rr 5 v

To the Right Honourable

Sir *John Sommers*, K^t.

Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of

ENGLAND.

And One of His MAJESTY's Most Honourable Privy-Council.

May it please your Lordship,

HAving undertaken to collect a short Account of the *Roman* Affairs, I here presume to present it to your Lordship; and were the *Performance* in any degree

 answer-

anſwerable to the Nobleneſs of the *Subject*, and the Greatneſs of your Lordſhip's Skill in this, as well as in all the politer Parts of Learning, I might juſtly hope to find it in ſome meaſure acceptable. But how mean ſoever the *Performance* is, I have ſtill ſome fair Proſpect of the *Deſign*; and I was almoſt aſſur'd, from Your Lordſhip's generous Inclinations, to promote the beſt and moſt uſeful Parts of Learning, that *ſuch a Deſign*, cou'd not, by any other Means, be ſo acceptable to the *Publick*, as by having the Advantage of Your Lordſhip's Name before it.

My Lord, I cannot pretend to any ſuch Knowledge of the Law, as to underſtand what is the ſureſt Method of attaining to Perfection in it. But,

as

as I am inform'd, ſome lay their Foundation in the ancient Hiſtories of the *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*: Others, I am told, only by the Way of *Inſtitutes*, *Reports*, and *Statutes*, arrive to a conſiderable Fame and Practice. But ſome there are, whoſe generous Induſtry carries 'em yet further, who think it neceſſary to ſpend ſome time in the *Roman Hiſtory*, *Claſſical Authors*, *Civil Law*, and the *Pleadings of Cicero*. And, I need not go about to acquaint the World, That Your Lordſhip's Excellency in all theſe, together with Your great natural Endowments, and anſwerable Improvements, did not only give Your Lordſhip very high Advantages over Others, at your firſt Appearance, but in a very ſhort time rais'd You to the higheſt Dignity in the *Law*,

and

and the utmoſt Favour great of the Prince in the World.

I ſpeak not this, *My Lord*, ſo much to celebrate the ſingular Prudence and Juſtice of his Majeſty, in advancing Your Lordſhip to his moſt Honourable Station, as to ſhew the World what peculiar Reaſon I had to offer this humble Addreſs, and how ambitious I was of appearing,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

moſt humble, obedient,

and devoted Servant,

Laurence Echard.

THE

PREFACE.

THERE *are requir'd ſo many Qualifications and Accompliſhments in an* Hiſtorian, *and ſo much Care and Niceneſs in writing an* Hiſtory, *that ſome have reckon'd it* One of the moſt difficult Labours that Human Nature is capable of. *And this ſeems the more probable from the ſmall Number of good Hiſtories that ever yet appear'd in the World. Even the principal Writers of the* Roman Hiſtory, *who are doubtleſs as excellent as any in the World, have not been free from Faults, or at leaſt from Criticks, who have been very ready to make their ſeveral Remarks upon 'em.* Polybius, *ſay they, is a very good Author, but is too much addicted to Preaching.* Dionyſius Hal. *is a very great Critick, but too moroſe, and may rather be plac'd among the Writers of* Antiquities *than* Hiſtory. Diodorus Siculus *ſpends too much Time in Fables, and is not free from Trifling, and has but little of the* Roman *Affairs.* Dion Caſſius *they look upon to be fickle, partial, a great Flatterer, and as*

great a Reviler. Appian *is very well for Military Diſcipline, but is often out in the* Roman *Affairs.* Cæſar *only wrote of ſome of his own Matters, and was ſo Modeſt and Juſt as not to call his Book* Hiſtory, *but* Commentaries. *Neither will* Plutarch *nor* Suetonius *go for* Hiſtorians, *they being only* Biographers. Livy, *ſay they, is indeed a great Man, but he is a little too verboſe and circumſtantial, and too much given to Prodigies and* Patavinity. Salluſt *is blam'd for his* Preface, *which, they ſay, is not only large enough for the Hiſtory of the World, but might as well ſtand before any other Book whatſoever. And ſomething they have to ſay of all the reſt, which I need not trouble the Reader withal.*

But notwithſtanding theſe ſeveral Cenſures, moſt of theſe Authors are very extraordinary in their kind, and generally are excellent Patterns to imitate, if it be done with Judgment. But how extraordinary ſoever they are, they are either all Fragments, or elſe ſo unfiniſh'd, that a compleat Body of the Roman *Hiſtory for ſix or ſeven hundred Years, can never be gotten out of any one of 'em. So that he, who expects to have any tolerable Account of the* Roman *Affairs, for ſo long a time, from old Writers, muſt, beſides his underſtanding the* Latin *and* Greek *Tongues, put himſelf to a conſiderable Expence both of Money and Time; except he will content himſelf with that little he can learn from* Florus, *and ſuch other immethodical and imperfect Epitomies. This Conſideration is ſufficient to vindicate my* Deſign,

in

in this following Collection; *and I know none which is of it ſelf more uſeful for Young Scholars or Gentlemen, or perhaps more entertaining. There never was any thing of this kind in our Language before, nor any thing relating to the* Roman *Affairs, but either what has been intermix'd with much more other* Hiſtory, *or what has contain'd but a few Years of this Part. Of theſe I find none of any Note beſides* Raleigh, Roſs, Howel, *the Author of the* Hiſtory of the Two Triumvirates, *and* Pedro Mexia, *Author of the* Imperial Hiſtory; *the two laſt of which are Tranſlations.*

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Account of the* Romans, *begins at the Building of the City, but contains but* 586 *Years, ending at the ſecond* Macedonian *War: And tho' it cannot be deny'd but the laſt hundred Years is written with very much Spirit and Judgment, and all of it with as much Skill and Clearneſs; yet, beſides the Inconveniency of being ſo intermix'd with other Matters, all before the firſt* Punick *War, bear no manner of Proportion with the reſt, as to Length.* Roſs *carries on Sir* Walter's *Deſign, but after ſuch a diſproportionate Manner, either for Length or Vigour, that I need not ſay any more of him.* Howel *is much more exact both for* Method *and Proportion in the* Roman Hiſtory, *than Sir* Walter, *and does not only continue it as far as this goes, but above* 300 *Years further; which he has done with wonderful Pains and Induſtry. Yet notwithſtanding all his* Method, *he has not*

juſtly proportion'd his Matter; his 57 Years Period, after the Expulſion of the Kings, is too long for the reſt of his Hiſtory; many memorable Actions, between that and the firſt Triumvirate, *are too ſhort; the firſt* Triumvirate *it ſelf is too long in his ſecond Edition, and too ſhort in the firſt; and the ſecond* Triumvirate *is too ſhort in both. Beſides, he is often too flat and inſipid to affect us throughly, and the Actions of the braveſt Men are related too coldly and unconcernedly to move us as they ought; which, together with his frequent want of* Tranſitions *and Words of* Connection, *and his often mixing of Critical Learning, makes him far leſs pleaſant than otherwiſe he might be. And what ſtill adds to theſe Imperfections, is the Obſcurity of his* Stile, *which proceeds ſometimes from his unlucky or unnatural miſplacing of his Words, and ſometimes from his affecting a Shortneſs, without throughly conſidering and pre-obſerving the Dangers that attend that uſeful way of Writing. His* Collections *indeed are admirable, both for their Uſefulneſs and Exactneſs; his* Deciſions *very juſt and faithful; and his* Learning *very uncommon and curious. In ſhort, we may ſay, that no Man ever more truly and carefully brought together the principal Matters of all the* Roman Hiſtorians, *than he; and that he was an incomparable* Collector *and* Compiler, *tho' at the ſame time he was but an indifferent* Hiſtorian.

I fear

I fear I have been too long upon this last, but still I must beg the Reader's Leave to consider the two remaining. The History of the two Triumvirates *is a Translation from the* French, *and contains only* 30 *Years, but of the busiest Time of the Commonwealth. It is a History very ingeniously writ, handsomly put together, and faithfully collected; and is far more pleasant and palatable than* Howel's. *Yet as few Years as it contains, it is manifestly too tedious in many Places, which is occasion'd sometimes from the natural Verboseness of the* French *Temper, and sometimes from the* Author's *descending too particularly to the lesser and more private Actions of Mankind; which makes him fall from the Majesty of an* Historian *to that of a* Biographer. *And, notwithstanding his being so very particular, he has wholly left out all* Cæsar's *Wars with the* Gauls, *which gain'd him so much Glory and Reputation, and was the Original of all his future Greatness.* Pedro Mexia *is a Translation from the* Spanish, *and contains the* Lives *of all the* Roman *and* German *Emperors to his own Time, which plainly shews him a* Biographer; *tho', besides, he has many excellent Marks of a* Historian. *He begins almost at the latter end of this History, and in effect contains not much more than* 33 *Years of it, and in that short Space he is extremely imperfect in one of the most principal Actions of the* Roman *History, namely, the Settlement of the* Roman *Empire by* Augustus.

After all this, I ſuppoſe it will be expected, that my own Piece is every way faultleſs, and has all the Perfections that can be deſir'd from a Book of this Size or Proportion; but I will not be ſo fooliſhly vain as to pretend to that; I can only ſay, That I have in ſome meaſure endeavour'd to avoid the Defects and Faults of thoſe Writers whom I have here taken notice of, and likewiſe to imitate their Excellencies, eſpecially thoſe of the Ancients, as far as the Compaſs I have taken wou'd admit of, which has been a ſevere Curb to me. But to come cloſer to the matter, it will be convenient to let the Reader know, in ſhort, what he is to expect from this Book. It is an intire, tho' ſhort, Account of the Roman *Affairs, for* 727 *Years, in which Compaſs of Time, the moſt memorable Things were acted, and the moſt famous of the* Claſſical *Authors flouriſh'd. It is collected with the utmoſt Fidelity from almoſt all the* Roman *Hiſtorians whatſoever, but more eſpecially from theſe ſeven moſt noted,* Dionyſius, Hal. Livy, Plutarch, Polybius, Dion Caſſius, Appian, *and* Cæſar. *I found it very inconvenient to croud the Margent of every Page with theſe and many other Names, as many do; but, when it is needful, I quote 'em in the Body of the Book; particularly, when any uncommon Story is related, or any doubtful Point is to be decided. I have likewiſe been oblig'd to ſome of our Modern Writers, but to none ſo much as* Howel, *and the* Hiſtory of the Two Triumvirates, *both whoſe accurate* Collections *have often ſav'd*

me

me much Trouble, tho' I examin'd the Originals from whence they had 'em. Upon that Account I have copy'd 'em in many Places, and that too almoſt verbally, whenever I found it both for the Eaſe of my ſelf, and the Advantage of my Book: For I am never cautious in Borrowing, *as long as I acknowledge it, and can benefit my* Reader, *whoſe Good I always ſtudy before my own Commendation.*

The Method *of the Whole I have endeavour'd to make as eaſy and as natural as I cou'd, dividing and diſtinguiſhing the* Books, Chapters, *and* Sections, *with all the Skill and Judgment I had; ſo that I hope it will be all of it clearly comprehended, and the principal Matters as eaſily remember'd. Nothing is more neceſſary than convenient Reſting-places for a* Reader *to take Breath at; and the want of this or the like* Method *will appear apparently in any* Man's *reading over* Livy: *For tho' the* Regal State *may there be clearly enough comprehended, by reaſon of the Nature of the Subject, yet the vaſt Variety of the* Matter *that follows, will not be maſter'd and retain'd without toiling and ſweating: For it is a great Inconvenience when the* Reader *muſt ſeparate and diſtinguiſh the* Matter, *where the Author has not done it. Then to make it ſtill more clear, I have all the way intermix'd ſo much* Chronology *and* Geography, *as is neceſſary to illuſtrate the Story.*

As for the Stile, *I have made it as plain and intelligible as I cou'd; and as I have no ways affected Flouriſhes and the* French *Finery, ſo for the moſt part I have avoided all Meanneſs of Words or Expreſſions, endeavouring in ſome meaſure to preſerve the Gravity which belongs to* Hiſtory, *and which ought not to be omitted in a* Collection: *Yet I muſt acknowledge, that I have beſtow'd too little Pains in the perfecting of the* Stile *in ſome Places; at leaſt not ſo much as I ſhou'd have done, had it been a Tranſlation of any ancient Author; I mean as to the Niceties of our Tongue, and the Perfection of Periods. The* Speeches *are generally the moſt carefully done, tho' I cou'd ſcarce take any verbally, by reaſon of the little Compaſs I was allow'd: And upon that account I was forc'd in ſome Places to follow their Senſe at a diſtance, which ſome that are over-nice will ſcarcely allow to a faithful* Hiſtorian. *And this little Compaſs likewiſe hinder'd me from having all the* Tranſitions *I cou'd have deſir'd, tho' thoſe of the principal Beauties belonging to the Way and* Manner *of writing Hiſtorical* Matters.

To come to the Uſe of this Book: It will be particularly uſeful to young Students and Gentlemen, by giving 'em an Inſight into the principal of the Roman Cuſtoms, Laws, *and* Magiſtrates; *I mean ſuch of 'em as cannot be ſo clearly learn'd from* Roſinus, *and Books of mere* Antiquities. *It is the Hiſtorical Account of all the various* Occa-

Occaſions and Circumſtances that can beſt clear ſome of theſe things. The Tribunes of the People *may ſerve for one Inſtance of this; for no Man can throughly underſtand the Nature of thoſe Magiſtrates, without reading the Hiſtory of their Creation, and likewiſe of their chief Actions afterwards. And ſtill that this Book might be as compleat as I cou'd make it, I have at the moſt convenient Places intermix'd the* Hiſtory of the Roman Learning, *and given a ſhort Account of all the principal* Authors, *as far as this Hiſtory reaches. But ſtill I have taken care to join all this to the reſt, in ſuch a manner as both might make but one entire Body.*

But to ſhew more noble Uſes of this Book, and that I may incite all Gentlemen to be well acquainted with the Roman Hiſtory, *of which this is an* Introduction, *I ſhall give 'em the Senſe of what a very ingenious Man ſays upon this Subject. It is the Story of the Fate and Fortunes of a City that rais'd it ſelf to an Univerſal Empire, and became the Metropolis of the whole World; and all from a Troop of Vagabond Shepherds, pack'd together upon the Banks of* Tiber. *It is a long Train of the Adventures of a People, ſcandalous as it were in their Origine, coming of an Extraction in a manner infamous, born and nurs'd up in Plunderings and Murders, and train'd up in Villanies; who became Wiſe, Frugal, Juſt, paſſionately ſtudious of Glory, till they infinitely overtop'd the reſt of Mankind: A People whoſe Prudence in their Counſels, whoſe Maturity of Deliberations,*

rations, whose Diligence in Execution, whose profound Secresy in the most important Affairs, and whose noble Resolution in unavoidable Dangers, and the greatest Extremities, ought to be remember'd to all Ages. It is a History of a State that grew so mighty from so small Beginnings, of its Progress, its strange Changes, the Revolutions of its Power and Greatness, its amazing Exaltation, and the miraculous and almost unconceivable Pitch of Glory it arriv'd at; and all by its patient enduring of Hardships, by its Perseverance in Labours, by its exact Observation of Laws, by the inviolable Severity of its Discipline in the Duties of Peace and War, and by training up a well-regulated and courageous Soldiery, encourag'd and elevated with the sole Prospect of agrandizing the Roman *Name. It was a Nation that was virtuous through a true Principle of Honour; whose Valour was more the Product of the Head than Heart; a Nation that courted or avoided Danger, from a Result of Prudence, and knew as well when to expose it self, as when to retreat, by the Dictates of Reason; and obtain'd the Sovereignty over the rest of the World, more by the Reputation of its Virtue, than the Force of its Arms.*

AN

AN ADVERTISEMENT OF THE *Second Edition of this Book.*

IN the Preface of this Hiſtory I acknowledg'd, that I had not beſtow'd ſufficient Pains in the perfecting the *Stile* in ſome Places; which proceeded not only from a want of Time, but alſo from the great Care I had upon me of perfecting the *Matter*, and proportioning its ſeveral Parts to that ſmall Compaſs to which I was over-ſtrictly confin'd. The principal Fault, beſides a little Abruptneſs in ſome few Periods, was the having Expreſſions in ſeveral Places ſomewhat too low and vulgar for *Hiſtory*, which requires the utmoſt *Purity* as well as the greateſt *Strength*. This Fault is in a great meaſure corrected in this Edition; which I aſſert with the greater Freedom, becauſe I have been much aſſiſted by Perſons of the greateſt Judgment in theſe Matters, whoſe Names I ought not to mention without their particular Leave.

In examining the *Stile*, I likewiſe found the *Matter* in many Places defective, and capable of

of great Improvements with no great Enlargements, for which Reaſon I have made ſeveral conſiderable Additions in moſt Parts of this Hiſtory, eſpecially in the laſt Book, and particularly in the third and fourth Chapters, where ſeveral material Actions were manifeſtly too ſhort and lamely related. I am truly ſenſible that I have diſoblig'd thoſe Perſons who have bought the firſt Edition, in not putting theſe Additions in diſtinct Places, whereby they might have had 'em without buying the whole; but I hope they will the more readily pardon me, ſince theſe Additions are of that nature, that in many Places it wou'd be as difficult to ſeparate 'em from the Body of the Book, as to ſeparate the Alterations made in the *Stile*. I undertook this *Edition* the more willingly, becauſe the Number of the firſt was ſo ſmall, and therefore the leſs Injury done to the World; but I here promiſe never to make any further Additions to it for the future, nor any Corrections except thoſe of the *Preſs*: Of which there are ſome few occaſion'd by my diſtance from the Town, which I deſire the Reader to correct as he reads the Book.

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THE

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The Regal State of ROME, *from the Building of the City, to the Overthrow of that Kind of Government.*

Containing the Space of 245 *Years.*

The INTRODUCTION.

Of the Original of ROME, *and its Inhabitants.*

I. IN relating such great and remarkable Affairs as those of the *Romans*, it will be necessary to give some Account of the Original of that People: And, to make the Account as clear and intelligible as I can, it may not be amiss first to observe, That that Country which was anciently call'd *Italy*, of which *Rome* was afterwards the chief City, did not contain above one half of what now goes by that Name. But as small as it was, it contain'd many distinct Nations and People; the Principal of which were the *Aborigines*, *Sabines*, *Hetrurians* or *Tuscans*, *Umbri*, *Samnites*, *Campani*, *Apulii*, *Calabri*, *Lucanii*, and *Brutii*; and others of inferior Note, which were often dependent on

theſe. As for the reſt of what is now call'd *Italy*, that was principally poſſeſs'd by the *Gauls*, who had driven out the *Hetrurians*, and ſettl'd themſelves in theſe Parts; being diſtinguiſh'd into ſeveral Names, as the *Senones*, the *Inſubres*, &c. This Part went by the Name of *Gallia Cis-Alpina* and *Togata*, to diſtinguiſh it from that *Gaul* which is now call'd *France*, and was almoſt the ſame with the preſent *Lombardy*: The chief Inhabitants of it, beſides the ſeveral Nations of the *Gauls*, were the *Ligures* and the *Veneti*.

Of all the forementionʼd People, the *Aborigines*, afterwards calʼd by the Name of *Latines*, were of principal Note? not upon the Account of any particular Excellency, but as being better known, and much more enquirʼd after by all Hiſtorians. Theſe were of the Poſterity of the *Oenotrians*, a *Grecian* People of *Arcadia*, who had driven out the *Seculi*, the firſt Inhabitants of theſe Parts of *Italy*. They poſſeſs'd the Country of *Latium*, a ſmall Country along the River *Tiber*, about 30 Miles in Length, and 16 in Breadth, containing near a fourth Part of that little Province in the Pope's Dominions, now calʼd *Campagna-di-Roma*. We find theſe govern'd by their own Kings nigh 200 Years before the Deſtruction of *Troy*, and above 1300 before *Chriſt*; the firſt Kings we hear of in *Italy*, or in all *Europe*, except *Greece*. Theſe Kings kept their Courts at *Laurentum*, a City about five Miles off the Mouth of the River *Tiber*; and were Governors of a mixʼd People: For firſt, ſome *Pelaſgians* out of *Theſſaly* ſettl'd among 'em; ſoon after, *Saturn* from *Creet*, who fled from his Son *Jupiter*, which occaſionʼd their changing of their Names to *Latines à latendo*, from his lying hid there; next, *Evander* from *Arcadia*, then *Hercules* from *Greece*, with their ſeveral Followers.

Old Latium.

Latini.

But the laſt who ſettl'd in this Country, according to *Dionyſius*, were ſome Relicks of the *Trojans*, under the Conduct of their Prince *Æneas*, who had left

left his native Country, and his enrag'd Enemies, to ſeek out foreign Habitations. Theſe were about 1200 in all, tho' ſome will allow but half that number; and arriv'd in theſe Parts three Years after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, and above 400 before the Building of *Rome*, *A. M.* 2824. *Æneas*, at his firſt landing, was very civilly entertain'd by *Latinus*, the King then reigning, as a Perſon of great Renown, who not only treated him honourably, but gave him his only Daughter *Lavinia* in Marriage. This occaſion'd a War between him and *Turnus*, a Prince of the *Rutuli*, their near Neighbours, who had formerly made Pretenſions to her; but theſe Wars ſoon ended in *Turnus*'s Death, which did not only free *Æneas* from a Rival, but ſecur'd his Kingdom, which *Latinus* gave him for his Daughter's Portion after his Deceaſe. *Æneas* thus ſettled, ſoon after built the City of *Lavinium*, in honour of his Wife, about five or ſix Miles Eaſt of *Laurentum*, where he kept his Court; and the more to oblige his Subjects, caus'd both them and his own Country-men to be call'd by the common Name of *Latini*: But ingaging in a bloody War with *Mezentius*, a King of the *Hetrurians*, he was ſlain, after a ſhort Reign of four Years. His Subjects, in honour to his Memory, dedicated a Chapel to him, under the Title of *Jupiter Indiges*.

Upon the Death of *Æneas*, his Son *Aſcanius* ſucceeded him in the Throne; but *Lavinia*, being left with Child by him, out of fear fled to the Woods, and was there deliver'd of a Son, who from the Place of his Birth had the Name of *Silvius*. Thirty Years after the building of *Lavinium*, *Aſcanius* left it to his Mother-in-law, and founded *Alba-Longa*, about 12 Miles North of it, which he made his Seat. *Aſcanius* had a Son call'd *Iulus*, from whom came the famous Family of the *Julii*: This Son, after his Mother's death, contended with *Sylvius* for the Kingdom; but the People judging that to belong to *Latinus*'s

Jupiter Indiges.

Julii.

tinus's Race, gave the Kingdom to *Silvius*, and the Prieſthood to *Iulus*, in whoſe Family it thenceforth continu'd. After *Silvius* ſucceeded 13 Kings of the ſame Race for nigh 400 Years, who all had their Seats at *Alba*, and many of them likewiſe had the Name of *Silvius*: Theſe Kings were as following; *Æneas Silvius*, who reign'd 31 Years, *Latinus*, who reign'd 51, *Alba* 39, *Capetus* I. 26, *Capys* 28, *Capetus* II. 13, *Tiberinus* 8, *Agrippa* 24, *Alladius* 19, *Aventinus* 37, *Procas* 23, *Amulius* 42, and *Numitor*, who was the laſt King of *Alba*. Except the two laſt, we have but little remarkable concerning theſe Kings, only *Tiberinus* gave Name to the River *Tiber*, by being drown'd in it, it being before call'd *Albula*; and *Aventinus* gave Name to Mount *Aventine*, one of the ſeven Hills of *Rome*.

Tiber.

Aventine.

Theſe were call'd the Kings of *Alba*, or of old *Latium*, which ſcarce contain'd the ſixth part of what was call'd *Latium* in *Auguſtus*'s Reign; which then comprehended not only the Old *Latini*, but alſo the *Rutuli*, *Æqui*, *Hernici*, *Volci*, and *Arunci*. This Kingdom, tho' very ſmall, according to the Dimenſions before given of it; was very fruitful, populous, and full of Towns, and *Alba* it ſelf was a great and flouriſhing City, and had been the Mother of thirty *Latine* Towns, when it was deſtroyed by *Tullus Hoſtilius* the third King of *Rome*.

New Latium.

A. M. 3209. II. But to come cloſe to the *Roman* Story, *Amulius* and *Numitor*, the two laſt of theſe Kings, were Brothers; and it was agreed between them, that *Numitor* the Eldeſt ſhould have the Kingdom, and *Amulius* the Treaſure and Gold that was brought from *Troy*. But Money having the Advantage of meer Authority, *Amulius* ſoon got his Brother out of his Kingdom; and, to ſecure it to himſelf againſt the Pretenſions of his Poſterity, caus'd his Son *Lauſus* to be murther'd in a pretended Hunting, and his Daughter

Daughter of *Rhea* to be made a *Veſtal* Virgin. In the fourth Year of her Prieſthood, going to fetch Water, ſhe was met and raviſh'd by ſome Lover, or probably by *Amulius* himſelf, rather, as was ſuppos'd, to ſerve his other Deſigns, than to gratify his Luſt. But for the Honour of the Cauſe, the Fact was laid upon *Mars*, in whoſe Grove it was committed, who came to her, as they will have it, in a moſt dreadful manner, with Thunder and Lightning. *Rhea* proving with Child, was deliver'd of two Boys, and thereupon was condemn'd to Death, or perpetual Impriſonment, and her Children were thrown into the River. But the Wind and Stream were both ſo favourable, that at the Fall of the Water, they were left ſafe upon dry Ground, and there happily found by *Fauſtulus*, *Amulius*'s Herds-man, and ſuckl'd by his Wife *Laurentia*, who, for her infamous Life, was call'd *Lupa*; and this probably might occaſion the famous Story of their being nouriſh'd by a *Wolf*: The Names of theſe Twins were *Romulus* and *Remus*.

The Children, grown up, prov'd active and couragious, ſuitable to the Greatneſs of their Birth; but the Meanneſs of their Education gave 'em occaſion of falling out with ſome of *Numitor*'s Herdsmen; in which Conteſt *Remus* was taken Priſoner, and brought before the King. Upon which *Fauſtulus* diſcover'd to *Romulus* all the Particulars of his Birth, and hard Uſage from *Amulius*; begging him to be aſſiſtant in the Reſcue of *Remus*. *Romulus* ſoon drew together a great number of Herdſmen and inferior People, who hated *Amulius*, whom he divided into Companies, conſiſting of an hundred Men each; every Captain carrying a ſmall Bundle of Graſs and Shrubs ty'd to a Pole. The *Latines* call ſuch Bundles *Manipuli*; from whence it is, that in their Armies they call their Captains *Manipulares*. *Remus* gaining upon the Citizens within, and *Romulus* making At-

Manipulares.

tacks from without, *Amulius* not knowing what Expedient to think of for his Security, in that Amazement and Diſtraction, was taken and ſlain; the Brothers ſettling their Grand-father *Numitor* in his Throne, after he had been depos'd forty two Years.

A. M. 3251. The Affairs of *Alba* ſucceeding thus proſperouſly, the young Men, ambitious of Glory, were deſirous of founding a City in the Place where they were brought up; which Deſign was approv'd of by their Grand-father, who appointed 'em Land, with ſuch of his Subjects as he knew were of his Brother's Faction; and likewiſe gave free liberty to all others who were willing to ſettle themſelves in this new Colony. Moſt of the *Trojans* came in, (of which there remained fifty Families in *Cæſar*'s time, as *Dionyſius* informs us) and alſo all the Inhabitants about the *Palatine-Hill*, where the City was built, which was about 14 Miles North-Weſt of *Alba*, upon the River *Tiber*. For the more ſpeedy carrying on this Work, the People were divided into two Parts, who were to work by way of Emulation: But what was deſign'd for a conſiderable Advantage, prov'd a greater Inconveniency; for it gave birth to two Factions, whereof one preferr'd *Romulus*, and the other *Remus*; which ſwell'd 'em with the ambitious Deſires of Pre-eminence. This ſoon appear'd in their Diſagreement about the Place of Building, *Romulus* contending for the *Palatine*, where they were brought up, and *Remus* for the *Aventine-Hill*. Upon which, the Matter was brought before their Grand-father *Numitor*, who adviſ'd 'em both to go apart, and obſerve the Flying of Birds; and the moſt fortunate of the two ſhould be counted the Founder of the Colony. They both took their Stations upon their own Hills, and *Remus* firſt had a Flight of ſix Vultures; but *Romulus* having, or pretending to have, double the number, both were

were ſaluted by the Title of *King*. This widen'd the Breach, and the Contention grew ſo hot as to come to a Battel, wherein *Remus* was worſted and ſlain, with ſeveral others, particularly *Fauſtulus* and his Brother *Pliſtinus*. But it is likewiſe ſaid, that before the Battel, *Remus* gave his Brother many great Provocations, particularly by leaping over his Wall, to ridicule him for the Lowneſs of it.

Romulus, now ſole Commander, and 18 Years of Age, began the Foundation of *Rome* in the fourth Year of the ſixth *Olympiad*, according to *Varro*'s Account, which was in the Year of the World 3252, the ſixth Year of *Jotham* King of *Judah*, and the ſeventh of *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, 431 Years after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, 120 after the Building of *Carthage*, 214 before the Beginning of the *Perſian* Empire, and 752 before *Chriſt*: And having got *Augurs*, and ſuch ſort of People from *Hetruria*, he ſet about it with much Ceremony, on the 21ſt Day of *April*, according to *Plutarch*, which Day the *Romans* anniverſarily kept holy, calling it their Country's Birthday. He took in the Mount *Palatine* only, and with a Heifer and a young Bullock plow'd up a Furrow where the Wall was deſign'd; which Cuſtom was afterwards obſerv'd by the *Romans*, both in the Building and Razing of Cities; and where-ever a Gate was to be made, the Plow was lifted up, which occaſion'd it to be call'd *Porta, à portando aratrum*: All within this Line was call'd *Pomærium*, from *Poſt-Murum*, or *Pone Mænia*. The City was almoſt ſquare, containing at firſt about 1000 Houſes, and was nigh a Mile in Compaſs, with four Gates, namely, *Romanula*, *Janualis*, *Mucionis*, and *Carmentalis*; and a ſmall Territory belong'd to it of 7 or 8 Miles long. *Pomærium.*

Thus we ſee *Rome* in its Original, a ſmall inconſiderable beggarly Place, with Dominions ſtill of leſs Note; which yet from this mean and contemptible Beginning, became Miſtreſs of the World; being

firſt founded and ſupported by its *Kings*, then ſtrengthen'd and enlarg'd by its *Conſuls*, and at laſt brought to its utmoſt Perfection by its *Emperors*. As for the Arts and Contrivances, the Policy and Cunning, the Strength and Valour, and the gradual Proceedings, with the extraordinary Fortune, which contributed to make the *Romans* Maſters of ſuch vaſt and powerful Dominions, theſe are the Subject of this following *Hiſtory*.

CHAP. I.

From the Building of the City, to the Death of Romulus, *the firſt King of* Rome.

Containing the Space of 37 Years.

U. C. 1. I. *Romulus* having thus founded the City of *Rome*, by his Grandfather's Advice, left the Choice of the Government to the People, who im-

King. mediately made him *King*, according to *Dionyſius*; and he receiving it as a Gift from them, his Power became the more plauſible and indiſputable. The Number of the Colony conſiſted of about 3000 Foot, and 300 Horſe; and the firſt Method he made uſe of to increaſe this Number, was his building a Temple to the *Aſylæan* God, which he made a Sanctuary to all Malefactors and diſcontented Perſons, who thereupon came in great Numbers from all the neighbouring Parts. He divided the People

Tribes. into three Parts, which were call'd *Tribes*, that is to

Curiæ. ſay *Thirds*; and each *Tribe* was divided into ten *Curiæ*, which were much the ſame as our *Pariſhes*, as the *Tribes* were like our *Wards*; each *Curia* having its proper Temple and Sacrifices, and a Prieſt call'd *Curio* over it, and over all an Arch-Prieſt call'd *Curio Maximus*. Each *Curia* was likewiſe by *Romulus* ſubdivided

divided into ten *Decuria*, over which were appointed diſtinct Officers. According to the Number of the *Curiæ*, he divided the Lands into 30 Parts, reſerving one Portion for publick Uſes, and another for Religious Ceremonies. In all Matters of Importance for many Years, the People gave their Votes according to the *Curiæ*, and to what the major Part of the *Curiæ* agreed, was reckon'd the Reſolution of the whole *Aſſembly*, each ſingle Man having a Vote; and this made that *Aſſembly* call'd *Comitia Curiata*. *Decuriæ.* *Comitia Curiata.*

Romulus made alſo another Diſtinction of the People, according to their Honour and Dignity, which was into *Patritians* and *Plebeians*: The former, as being elder and more nobly deſcended, were to take care about the Religious Rites, bear Offices of Magiſtracy, adminiſter Juſtice, and be aſſiſtant to the King in his Government: The latter to till the Fields, feed Cattel, and follow Trades; but not to have any Share in the Government, to avoid the Inconveniencies of a Popular Power. To bind the Principal each to the other, he recommended certain of the *Plebeians* to the Protection of the *Patritians*, liberty being given to the *Plebeians* to chuſe their own *Patrons*. The Duty of theſe *Patrons* was to adviſe their *Clients* in Points of Law, to manage their Suits, to take care of 'em Abſent and Preſent, as their own Children; and by all Ways and Methods to ſecure their Peace and Happineſs. On the other Side, the Duty of the *Clients* was to help their *Patrons* with Money upon many Occaſions, to ranſom them or their Sons if taken Priſoners, and to bear the Charges of their Magiſtracy, and other honourable Imployments. They were never to accuſe each other, or take contrary Sides; for if they did, any one might lawfully kill them without Examination. So that this *Patronage* was an Obligation as effectual as any Conſanguinity or Alliance; and it was the Glory of the Nobility to have a great Number of *Clients*, *Patritians* *Plebeians.* *Patrons.* *Clients.*

Clients, and to treat 'em civilly. This *Patronage* had admirable Effects towards the firm Union of the Pepole, for above 600 Years after, till *Caius Gracchus* broke the Peace of the City: And becauſe the *Plebeians* in the City received ſuch Advantage from this Conſtitution, in Imitation thereof, afterwards all *Colonies*, *Confederate* and *Conquer'd* Cities, had their *Patrons*, to whom frequently the *Senate* would remit ſuch Controverſies as were brought before 'em, and ratifie their Judgment.

Senate.

After this, *Romulus* choſe 100 Men out of the *Patritians*, to aſſiſt him in the Government. This Number he call'd a *Senate*, either from their Age or Virtue, or, *à ſinendo*, becauſe nothing was tranſacted without their *Permiſſion*. Such of the *Fathers* as he enroll'd or enter'd into this Venerable Aſſembly, he call'd *Patres Conſcripti*, as *Dionyſius* rightly obſerves; and, to make up this Number, he choſe Three out of each *Tribe*, and as many out of each *Curia*; over all which he plac'd a particular Magiſtrate, to whom he committed the Government of the City when he was abſent in the Wars; and this Magiſtrate was call'd *Præfectus Urbis*. After this, he immediately proceeded to ſettle the Authorities of *King*, *Senate* and *People*. The *King's* Office at home, was, *To take care of the Religious Rites; to preſerve the Laws and Cuſtoms; to decide the chief Cauſes between Man and Man, and refer the leſs Matters to the Senate, into which he had an Inſpection; to call the Senate, aſſemble the People, firſt giving his own Opinion, then ratifying what was approv'd of by the major Part.* Abroad, and in the Wars, *He had abſolute Authority.* The *Senate's* Office was, *To debate and reſolve about ſuch things as the King propos'd, which were decreed by the Majority of Voices.* To the *People* he committed three Things; *To create Magiſtrates, make Laws, and reſolve upon any War that was propos'd by the King*; yet ſtill in ſuch a Manner as the Authority of the *Senate* always interpos'd.

Patres Conſcripti.

Præfectus Urbis.

The

The next thing that *Romulus* did, was to take care of a Guard for his Perſon; and therefore he order'd the *Curiæ* to chuſe him out 300 luſty young Men, ten out of each; and theſe were called *Celeres, à celeritate*, from their Activity and Readineſs to aſſiſt the King upon all Occaſions. They were commanded by a *Tribune* or Colonel, call'd *Tribunus Celerum*, three *Centurions*, and other Inferior Officers. This Company, with their Spears, defended the King in the City, and in Battels were the foremoſt Leaders, charging firſt, and retreating laſt. Beſides theſe, he had for his Attendance, 12 *Lictors* or *Sergeants*, who puniſh'd Offenders, and executed his Commands; theſe always going before him in Publick, with their Bundles of Rods, call'd *Faſces*, and their *Axes*, ſignifying different Puniſhments, according to Mens different Crimes. Thus *Romulus*, with all the Induſtry and Prudence imaginable, took care to ſettle the State, being very exact in Juſtice, and forbidding all ſordid Arts and Trades, eſpecially ſuch as were ſubſervient to Luxury, which being left wholly to Slaves and Strangers, the *Romans* for many Years ſcorn'd to be concern'd in 'em. This is the Form of the Common-wealth, as *Romulus* firſt eſtabliſh'd it, which in general was ſo excellent, that it was admir'd by *Dionyſius* above all the Conſtitutions, even of his own Country-men the *Grecians*; and by its Healthfulneſs and robuſt Conſtitution, had all the manifeſt Signs of a thriving and long-liv'd State.

Celeres.

Tribunus Celerum.

Lictors.

II. *Romulus*, finding he was encompaſs'd with ſeveral powerful Nations, who, with envious Eyes beheld the extraordinary Growth of this City, and obſerving how much it was fill'd by Fugitives, who had no Wives, he bethought himſelf of Means to contract Alliance with his Neighbours, and to procure Wives for his Subjects, which was his ſecond Device to increaſe the City: Therefore, by Advice of his Grand-

U. C. 4.

Grand-father *Numitor*, and the Consent of the *Senate*, he proclaim'd a Solemn Feast and Publick Games, in Honour of *Neptune*, thro' all the Country thereabouts. This immediately occasion'd a great Concourse of all sorts of People, who came flocking in, with their Wives and Children, from several Neighbouring Places, to behold these pompous Shows, together with the new City. In the midst of this Solemnity, upon a Signal given, the *Romans*, with their drawn Swords, seiz'd on such Virgins as they cou'd most conveniently catch, and by main Force carry'd 'em to their Houses. The Number of these amounted to 683, for whom *Romulus* chose so many Husbands, and marry'd 'em after their own Country Rites, making 'em sign a Covenant or Agreement, with the Ceremonies of Fire and Water; which Custom continu'd among the *Romans* for many Ages.

This Act was highly resented by most of their Neighbours, especially the *Sabines*, who were principally concern'd; but their Backwardness in their Preparations made the Cities *Cenina*, *Antemna*, and *Crustumium*, begin the War first. The two former (three or four Miles North of *Rome*, and inhabited by the *Aborigines*) *Romulus* soon subdu'd, with the Death of their King *Acron*, whom he slew in a single Combat; and afterwards the latter, a Colony of *Alba*, a little way within the Country of the *Sabines*. The Lands were divided between some of the *Romans*, and the old Inhabitants, of whom 3000 were made free of *Rome*, without losing their former Estates; so that the Foot-men of the City were now much increas'd. For this Victory *Romulus* first triumph'd, and bringing home the Spoils of King *Acron*, which the *Romans* named *Opima Spolia*, or *Royal Spoils*, he design'd a Spot of Ground upon Mount *Capitoline* for a Temple to *Jupiter Feretrius*, so call'd either *à ferendo* to bear, or rather from *ferire*

Opima Spolia.

Jupiter Feretrius.

to

to ſtrike; and this was the Place where the *Capital* afterwards ſtood. The Valour of *Romulus* and his good Conduct in this War, together with his Clemency to the Conquer'd, had ſo great Effects, that not only many eminent Men went over to him with their Families, (amongſt whom was *Cælius*, who gave Name to a Hill in the City) but ſome whole Nations committed themſelves to his Protection, and received Colonies from *Rome*.

This notable Succeſs was a great Diſappointment to the *Sabines*, who reſolving to correct their former Careleſneſs by double Diligence, aſſembl'd themſelves at *Cures* their *Metropolis*, proclaim'd War againſt *Rome*, and made choice of *Tatius* their King for General. On the other ſide, *Romulus* made all poſſible Proviſion for Reſiſtance, fortifying the *Capitoline* and *Aventine* Hills, and receiving Auxiliary-Troops both from *Hetruria* and his Grand-father *Numitor*. The *Sabines*, to have the fairer Pretence, firſt demanded Reſtitution of the Virgins, and to have the Authors of the Injury deliver'd up to them; but receiving no ſatisfactory Anſwer, both Armies drew out into the Field, the *Sabines* being 25000 Foot and 1000 Horſe, and the *Romans* 20000 Foot and 800 Horſe; a great number for a new-built City. *Tatius* encamp'd between the *Capitoline* and *Quirinal*, but found 'em too well fortify'd to be attack'd; but one *Tarpeia*, Daughter to *Tarpeius*, Governor of the *Capitoline*, call'd to his Men from above, and agreed to betray the Place into their Hands, which was in a ſhort time effected. What ſhe requir'd of 'em, as a Reward for this, was what they wore on their left Arms, meaning their Bracelets; but they threw their Targets upon her, which they wore on their left Arms, and preſs'd her to death. From hence this Hill was call'd *Tarpeius*, till the building of the *Capitol*, which made it loſe the Name, except that part of it which was call'd the *Tarpeian Rock*, from whence

U. C. 6.

whence they threw Malefactors down headlong.

The *Sabines*, now Masters of the *Capitoline*, had the Advantage of continuing the War at their pleasure; and for a long time only light Skirmishes past between both Parties, with little or no Advantage to either side: But the Tediousness and Charge of the War so wearied out both *Romans* and *Sabines*, that they very much desir'd a Peace, but neither side wou'd stoop to sue for it. Thus they continu'd for a very considerable time, till both resolving to do their utmost, they came to a general Battel, which was renew'd several Days with almost equal Success. In the last Contest, the *Romans* were much worsted in the beginning, and fled to the *Palatium*; but rallying and renewing the Fight with Success against the *Sabines*, the Women who were stolen and married to the *Romans*, and the Cause of this War, thro' the Persuasions of *Hersilia*, one of the principal among 'em, ran desperately into the midst of the Darts and dead Bodies, with their Children in their Arms, and their Hair about their Ears, making such lamentable Shrieks and Out-cries, that both Armies immediately desisted. These became Mediators, and made Peace between the Fathers and Sons-in-law, after the War had lasted six Years. The Articles were, *U. C.* 12. First, *That* Romulus *and* Tatius *should reign jointly in* Rome, *with equal Power and Prerogative:* Secondly, *That the City from* Romulus *should still be call'd* Rome, *Quirites.* *but the Citizens* Quirites, *from* Cures *the native Place of* Tatius: Thirdly, *That now the two Nations should become one, and as many of the* Sabines *as were willing, should be made Free of* Rome.

The City being now much increas'd by the number of the *Sabines*, Mount *Capitoline* was taken in, built upon, and laid out for their Habitation. *Romulus* chose out 100 of the most Noble of the *Sabines*, and added 'em to the *Senate*, so that it now consisted of 200 Persons. The *Legions* (so call'd *ab eligendo*, *Legions.* because

becauſe they were choice ſelect Men) which before contain'd 3000 Men, were now increas'd alſo to 4000, whence a *Legion* was call'd *Quadrata*; yet afterwards a *Legion* compriz'd as many Men as was found convenient for the Service of the Commonwealth. Several new Feaſts were inſtituted upon the Account of this Union, as *Matronalia*, *Carmentala*, &c. and a particular Reſpect was had to thoſe Women who procur'd this happy Reconciliation, and ſeveral Privileges were allow'd 'em, particularly they were exempted from all Work unleſs Spinning and making of Cloth. Now the Tribes were call'd by diſtinct Names; the firſt *Ramnenſes*, from *Romulus*; the ſecond *Tatienſes*, from *Tatius*; and the third *Luceres*, from the *Lucus* or Grove where the *Aſylum* ſtood. For five Years the two Kings reign'd quietly and peaceably together; but in the ſixth, *Tatius* protecting ſome of his Friends who had robb'd and plunder'd the *Lavinians*, and killing the Embaſſadors who were ſent to demand Satisfaction, was ſlain by the *Lavinians* at his going to ſacrifice there. *Romulus*, like a generous Prince, made Satisfaction to the inj r'd Perſons, and bury'd *Tatius* in *Rome* very honourably.

III. *Romulus*, once more ſole Monarch of *Rome*, *U. C.* 18. march'd againſt *Fidena*, and ſubdu'd it, a Town five Miles off *Rome*, that had ſeiz'd on Proviſions coming thither in Time of Famine; and ſoon after, he took *Cameria*, an *Alban* Colony not far diſtant; into both which he ſent a ſufficient Number of *Romans* to inhabit 'em, according to his uſual Cuſtom. Then he puniſh'd the *Cruſtumini*, who had kill'd their Planters which he had plac'd among 'em; and over all theſe he obtain'd a ſecond Triumph. The Action of *Romulus* againſt the *Fidenates* was extremely reſented by the *Veientes* their Neighbours, who immediately by an Embaſſy requir'd the *Romans*

mans to withdraw their Garriſon, and reſtore the Inhabitants to all their former Privileges. Theſe *Veientes* were one of the twelve Nations of *Hetruria*, a powerful People, inhabiting a ſtrong City, and of extraordinary Largeneſs, ſituated upon a craggy Rock about 12 Miles North of *Rome*. Their Demands being rejected, they began their Acts of Hoſtility, and both Armies met at *Fidena*; where, after two ſharp Engagements, *Romulus* became Conqueror. The *Veientes* were now forc'd to betake themſelves to Inreaties, and ſo enter'd into a League with the *Romans* for 100 Years, upon theſe
U. C. 21. Articles; *To quit a ſeventh Part of their Dominions, with their Salt-pits nigh the River, and to give up fifty Hoſtages of the moſt conſiderable Families.* *Romulus* for this, triumph'd a third Time, leading with him their General, an aged Man, who had ſo badly perform'd his Duty, that he was afterwards perſonated by an old Man in all Triumphs.

This was the laſt War manag'd by *Romulus*, who after that employ'd moſt of his Time in ſettling the Government, and placing it upon the ſureſt Foundations. He made many good and profitable Laws, moſt of which were unwritten. Particularly he made One concerning Marriages, where the Authority of the Husband was ſo well and conveniently ſettl'd, that for 520 Years a Divorce was not known in *Rome*. He gave Fathers abſolute Power over their Sons, to ſell, impriſon, ſcourge, or kill 'em, tho' in never ſo great an Office, and that as long as they liv'd. He appointed no Puniſhment for real *Parricide*, but call'd all Murder by that Name; thinking the latter a deteſtable Crime, but the other impoſſible: And indeed it was a Crime never known in *Rome* for 600 Years. For the Peoples way of living, he enjoin'd two Courſes of Life, *Warfare* and *Husbandry*, equally dividing the Lands, Slaves, and Money, taken from the Enemy; he appointed a

Market

Market once in nine Days, which from thence was call'd *Nundinæ*: When any Town was taken, he suffer'd no Prisoner of Man's Age to be slain or sold, or their Lands left untill'd, but order'd a Colony from *Rome* to cultivate them, and some of the Strangers to be admitted to the Freedom and Privileges of the City; and this was his third Contrivance to encrease the City. As to Controversies that might arise upon any Injuries, he immediately decided 'em, or referr'd 'em to others, inflicting speedy Punishments according to the Nature of the Crime. Finding Publick Spectacles to have a great Influence upon the People, he set up his Judgment-Seat in the most conspicuous Place in the *Forum*, where his Guard of 300 *Celeres*, and his 12 *Lictors* with their Rods and Axes, in view of all the People, scourging or executing Malefactors, occasion'd an extraordinary Awe and Respect. *Nundinæ*

In the latter end of his Reign, whether swell'd with the Imagination of his former Successes and present Security, or carry'd away with some pleasing Notions of Arbitrary Government, he began to grow very Tyrannical, inlarging his Prerogative beyond those Bounds he had formerly set to it, and making use of the *Senate* only to ratify his Commands. Tho' he was extremely belov'd by the Common People, yet these Actions gain'd him the Hatred of the Nobility and Senate, and brought him to an untimely Death; he being torn in pieces, as is generally believ'd, in the Senate-House, the Senators carrying his Body out by piece-meal under their Gowns, to prevent Discovery. The Senators took an occasion, from the Secresy of the Fact, and the Concealment of the Body, to perswade the Multitude that he was taken up among the Gods; and *Julius Proculus*, one of the Chief of the Nobility, did almost put all out of doubt, by swearing solemnly, That *Romulus* appear'd to him, and told him, *It*

was the Pleasure of the Immortal Gods to have him continue among Mankind, till he had founded a City whose Empire and Glory shou'd far surpass all others. He bad him farewel, and tell his Subjects, that by their strict Exercise of Temperance and Fortitude, no human Power shou'd e'er withstand the Roman *Arms; and he wou'd always be a propitious God to 'em, under the Name of* Quirinus. *Quirinus.* The Day in which he was said to be taken up, was kept after that as a great Holy-day; and a Temple was built in Honour of him on one of the seven Hills, from him call'd by the Name of *Quirinalis*.

He reign'd 37 Years, in which space he very much advanc'd the State of the City, leaving in it 46000 Foot and 1000 Horse; a happy Increase for so short a time. After his Grand-father *Numitor's* decease, the Kingdom of *Alba* fell to him, which he govern'd by Deputies; and the more to please that People, he allow'd 'em the Privileges of a Free-State, which probably occasion'd the Senate to bear his Encroachments the worse. So now the *Roman* Dominions consisted of a considerable Part of the *Sabines* Country, a small Part of *Hetruria*, and a mix'd Part of *Latium*.

CHAP. II.

From the Death of Romulus, *to the Death of* Numa Pompilius, *the Second King of* Rome.

Containing the Space of 44 Years.

U. C. 38. I. ROmulus being dead, or, as some are pleas'd to believe, taken up, the City was greatly divided about the Election of another King; but lest these Discords shou'd occasion Anarchy and Confusion in the Common-wealth, the *Senate* agreed

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to divide themſelves into *Decuries* or Tens, and that *Decury* which was choſen by Lot, ſhould exerciſe the Regal Authority for 50 Days, each Man governing in his turn five days, the Authority then falling to another *Decury*; and this they call'd an *Inter-regnum*. *Inter-rex.* This Government continu'd a whole Year, till the People at laſt began to murmur, ſaying, *It was a Trick of ſome few, who intended to get the Power into their own hands, and that for one pretended Tyrant, they had now got* 200 *real ones*; therefore they reſolv'd that a King ſhould be choſen. In the Election great Conteſts aroſe between the *Romans* and *Sabines*, each believing it reaſonable to have one of their own Country; till at length they came to this Concluſion, That the Party which elected ſhou'd chuſe one out of the Body of the other, ſo by that means the elected Prince might be oblig'd to favour both Parties, one for their Votes, and the other for their Alliance. It falling to the *Romans* to chuſe, the *Patritians* fix'd upon *Numa Pompilius*, a *Sabine*, a Perſon of about 40 Years of Age, who by the Conſent of the People was elected King. *Numa* then reſided at *Cures*, being a Perſon of the greateſt Virtue, Knowledge, and Abilities of that time, and had withdrawn himſelf from the Noiſes and Troubles of the World; therefore *Ambaſſadors*, one a *Roman*, and the other a *Sabine*, were diſpatch'd to him to offer him the *Kingdom*.

The Ambaſſadors finding him with his Father and Kinſman *Marcius*, by their Speakers, *Proculus* and *Valeſus* told him the Occaſion of their coming: To whom the elected King made this philoſophical and modeſt Anſwer: *Since every alteration of a Man's Life is generally hazardous in the Attempt, as well as dangerous in the Conſequence, it wou'd be the higheſt Indiſcretion for one, who, in his own Opinion, is ſufficiently happy, to endeavour, or admit of any Change; tho' there were nothing more in it, than the preferring a turbulent and uncertain Life, before a conſtant Quiet and certain Security.*

For my part, Romans, *I must freely tell you, That I am not only discourg'd, but even deterr'd from accepting your generous Offers, even by what is commonly reported of your famous* Romulus, *who was not only suspected of contriving* Tatius's *Death, but was likewise suppos'd to fall himself by the Rage of the* Senate. *And if* Romulus *himself sprung, as they say, from Divine Race, miraculously preserv'd, and as miraculously brought up, labour'd under such vast Inconveniences; how successful can I hope to be, begotten by a mere Mortal, and brought up the ordinary way, when I come to struggle with such insuperable Difficulties? Besides, you much mistake your Person, as well as forget your Interest and Glory, when you think I can be any ways serviceable to you: For my Temper naturally leads me to Peace, to Books, and the Worship of the Gods; but you,* Romans, *require a vigorous and active King, who may diligently cherish that Warlike Humour which your late Success has excited: And therefore such a Prince as should come to inculcate Peace, Justice, and Religion into the Minds of a Martial Nation, must of necessity appear not only strange and ridiculous to the World, but also mean and despicable to his Subjects.*

The *Romans* were much surpriz'd at this Answer, but still were very urgent with him to accept of the Kingdom; in which they were not a little assisted by his Father and *Marcius,* who return'd him this Reply: *Tho' you remain contented with your present Fortune, and court neither Riches nor Power; yet you may reasonable imagine, that such large Talents of Justice, Moderation, and Piety, were never given you by the Gods to lie useless and conceal'd: And you are sensible these are Vertues that can never have a greater Influence upon Mankind, than when they so publickly appear in the Person of a King.* Tatius, *tho' a Foreigner, was highly esteem'd by the* Romans, *and the Memory of* Romulus *was so precious to 'em, that after his Decease, they voted him divine Honours: And if the Affections of the People shou'd break out into a furious Desire of War, what can better manage*

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the Reins of that Paſſion, than ſuch a moderating Hand as yours? And who knows but that the People, being ever victorious, may be ſatiated with the Spoils and Trophies they have gain'd, and gladly entertain a mild and peaceful Prince, who being a Lover of Juſtice and Equity, may ſettle the City in a ſtrong and inſuperable Union, and in a ſure and laſting Happineſs? Theſe Reaſons and Perſuaſions, together with the Ambaſſador's Entreaties, at laſt prevail'd upon *Numa* to accept of the Kingdom; and after a ſolemn Sacrifice, he went for *Rome*. He was met by the Way by the *Senate* and *People*, who with a general Conſent inveſted him with the Regal Authority; and ſo univerſal was the Joy, that they ſeem'd not ſo much to receive a King, as the Addition of a new Kingdom.

II. *Numa* being a Perſon of extraordinary Wiſdom and Policy, as well as Devotion, thought it moſt convenient to raiſe and ſtrengthen that City by wholſom Laws, and Religious Cuſtoms, which had been founded upon War and Bloodſhed; judging it as neceſſary to employ a People well at home, as to exerciſe 'em abroad. The firſt thing he did was to disband the Royal Guard of the 300 *Celeres*, leſt the Maintenance of ſuch a Force might ſeem to argue a Diffidence of them that choſe him, ſaying, *That he wou'd not rule over that People, of whom he conceiv'd the leaſt Diſtruſt.* Next, he built a Temple to *Janus*, which was always to ſtand open in time of War, and to be ſhut in time of Peace, as it continu'd all his Regn; which, as ſome obſerve, never happned but four times from his Reign to that of *Tiberius Cæſar*. To the two *Flamens* or High-Prieſts of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, he added a third of *Quirinus* or *Romulus*; and to this Prince alſo is aſcrib'd the bringing in of the *Pontifices*, whereof he himſelf was one, and officiated accordingly. He alſo ordain'd the *Veſtal* Virgins, being four in number, to whom he gave very *U. C.* 40. *Janus.* *Pontifices.* *Veſtal* Virgins.

very great Privileges; particularly, when they went abroad, they had the *Faſces* carry'd before 'em, and in their Walks, if they met with a Malefactor leading to Execution, they had the Power of freeing him from Death, upon Oath given that the Meeting was meerly accidental. He alſo inſtituted the Orders of the *Salii* and the *Feciales*, Prieſts devoted to *Mars*; the former were to carry thoſe ſacred Shields call'd *Ancilia*, and the latter to judge of the Equity of War, and proclaim it with much Ceremony.

Salii.
Feciales.

This Prince, tho' naturally averſe to all Wars, yet conſider'd that Peace and Security might too much ſoften and degenerate the Minds of the Multitude; therefore he us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to imprint on their Minds the Notions of Religion and Virtue, and the due Reverence of God: And to gain the more Credit and Obedience to his Conſtitutions, he pretended he had often and immediate Converſe with the Goddeſs *Egeria*, and wou'd be often telling them that ſtrange Viſions and Apparitions were ſeen, and Prophetick Voices heard; which Stories had great and remarkable Effects upon a People ſo ſuperſtitiouſly inclin'd. Yet his Religion was of a refin'd Nature, being much like that of *Pythagoras* afterwards; and as he taught, *That the Principal of all Things was not to be perceiv'd by Senſe, nor was liable to Motion, but was Inviſible, Immortal, and to be apprehended by the Underſtanding alone*; ſo *Numa* forbad the *Romans* to uſe the Image of any God which repreſented him under the Form of a Man, or any other living Creature: And this was ſtrictly obſerv'd in all their Temples and ſacred Places, for 170 Years at the leaſt; they holding it a great Crime to liken ſuch ſuperior Beings to Things ſo much below 'em.

For the Encouragement of *Agriculture*, he divided thoſe Lands which *Romulus* had gain'd in War among the poorer ſort, cauſing his Subjects to apply themſelves to Husbandry, and by ſuch kind of Employments

ments to cultivate their Minds as well as the Earth: Then he divided all the Lands into ſeveral Parcels, to which he gave the Name of *Pagi*, or Boroughs; and over every one of theſe he ordain'd a Chief, or Arbitrator in Judicial Cauſes. And that he might take away all Diſtinction of *Roman* and *Sabine*, which threaten'd the State with endleſs Factions and dangerous Diviſions, he divided all the Inhabitants according to their ſeveral *Trades* and *Occupations*, making every Art a particular *Company* and *Society*, and appointing to every one their reſpective Courts and Privileges; and this was his Maſter-piece in Politicks. He much abated the Rigour of that Law made by *Romulus*, concerning the Power of Fathers over their Children, making it unlawful for 'em to ſell their Sons after Marriage, becauſe it was very unjuſt that a Woman who had marry'd a Free-man ſhou'd be conſtrain'd to live with a Slave. He alſo preſcrib'd Rules concerning Mourning; a Child of 3 Years, and ſo upwards to 10, was to be mourn'd for ſo many Months as it was Years old; and the longeſt time of Mourning for any Perſon, was not to exceed the Term of 10 Months: Which alſo was the Time appointed for Widows, before which, they cou'd not, without great Indecency, marry again; but in caſe Circumſtances were ſuch as not to admit of ſo long a Term, they were firſt to ſacrifice a Cow with a Calf for Expiation of their Fault.

Pagus.

One of the principal things done by this Prince was the Reformation of the Year, which, in *Romulus*'s time was much out of Order, ſome Months having more than 35 Days, and ſome fewer than 20. *Numa* finding the *Solar* Year to exceed the *Lunar* by 11 Days, doubled theſe 11 Days, and every other Year inſerted a Month after *February*, conſiſting of 22 Days, which was by the *Romans* call'd *Mercedonius*, becauſe it was the uſual time for paying of Wages. He likewiſe chang'd the Order of the

Mercedonius.

The Months.

Months, making *January* and *February* the first and second Months, which were the two last in *Romulus*'s Days. *January* had its Name from *Janus*, the most ancient God or King in *Italy*. *February* was so call'd from the *Expiations* which us'd to be in it, signify'd by the Word *Februa*. *March*, so call'd from *Mars*, the suppos'd Father of *Romulus*, which, upon that account, had been plac'd first. *April* from *Aphrodite* or *Venus*, because of the Superstitious Worship which was perform'd in it, when the Women were crown'd with Myrtile, *May*, so nam'd from *Maia*, the Mother of *Mercury*, to whom this Month was made Sacred. *June*, from *Juno*, or, as some will have it, from *Juventus*, because the Season is warm, and, as it were, *Juvenile*. The rest had their Names from their Order, as, *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*; only *Quintilis* and *Sextilis* were afterwards turn'd into *July* and *August*, by the Emperors *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus*.

Numa was marry'd to *Tatia*, King *Tatius*'s Daughter, by whom he had one Daughter named *Pompilia*; and after a Reign of 43 Years, being above 80 Years old, he dy'd, and was bury'd with great Honour and Solemnity. He forbad his Body to be burnt, as it was usual in those days, but was bury'd in a Stone Coffin, under the Hill *Faniculum*; and the Books of his Ceremonies were laid by him in another, being 12, written in *Latin*, and as many in *Greek*: These were taken up about 400 Years after; and because it was thought a piece of Impiety to communicate such Mysteries to the Multitude, were burnt by Order of the *Senate*. He kept the State in such a constant Peace, by his prudent Management, as did very much contribute to the Strength and Security of the City, and he much improv'd and polish'd the rough *Genius* of the *Roman* People.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From the Death of Numa, *to the Death of* Tullus Hostilius, *the Third King of* Rome.

Containing the Space of 33 Years.

I. UPon the Death of *Numa*, the Government once more devolv'd upon the *Senate*, and after several *Interreges*, *Tullus Hostilius* was created King by the universal Consent of all People. He was Grand-son to the famous *Hostilius*, who, in *Romulus*'s Days, had behav'd himself very valiantly against the *Sabines* in the Cittadel, and had marry'd the Daughter of *Hersilia*. He was of a bold and fiery Temper, and one who often sought and greedily embrac'd all Occasions of War; led to it partly by his own proper Inclination, and partly by the Glory and Renown of his Grand-father. As he thought the Love of his Subjects the most necessary thing to carry on the Designs of a Warlike Prince; so in the beginning of his Reign he purchas'd the good Opinion of the poorer sort, by dividing to them, Man by Man, that Portion of Land which his Predecessors, the two former Kings, had kept to bear their Charges, saying, *That his own Inheritance was sufficient for his own Expences.* That none of these might want room, he enlarg'd the City, and took in the Hill *Cælius*, where he also had his Palace; and all such as had now gotten Ground, and wanted Habitations, built upon it; so the City encreas'd in Bulk every day. *U. C.* 82.

It was not long before this Prince had a fair Opportunity of War offer'd him; for *Cluilius* Governor or *Dictator* of *Alba*, envying the Growth of *Rome*, had procur'd some Persons to rob and pillage in the *U. C.* 84.

the *Roman* Territories, knowing they wou'd revenge the Injury; which, when they did, he perſuaded the *Albans*, that they had receiv'd a great Affront, and caus'd 'em to take up Arms: But that there might be ſome Appearance of Reaſon, and for the greater Formality, Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Rome* to demand Reſtitution. *Hoſtilius* preſently perceiv'd the Deſign, and well knowing that they who firſt refus'd Satisfaction, would bear the greateſt blame, by nobly treating the Ambaſſadors, cunningly delay'd giving Anſwer, till he could ſend to demand Reſtitution at *Alba*. His Ambaſſadors receiv'd a ſharp Repulſe from *Cluilius* at *Alba*, upon notice whereof, *Hoſtilius* gave Audience to the *Alban* Ambaſſadors, telling them, *How he had receiv'd ſuch an Anſwer from* Alba *as argu'd the League broken*; whereupon he proclaim'd a juſt and neceſſary War againſt the *Albans*, which he would carry on to the utmoſt. Both Parties made all poſſible Preparations, and drew out their Forces about five Miles from *Rome*, to a Place afterwards call'd *Cluilius Ditch*; where, when they expected to have decided the Quarrel, *Cluilius* was found dead in his Tent, but whether by a natural or violent Death, is uncertain. In his Place was choſen *Metius Fuffetius*, a Perſon who had no other Qualifications to recommend him to his Office, beſides his turbulent Spirit, and his being as great an Incendiary as his Predeceſſor.

At the ſame time the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, who in *Romulus*'s Days had ſubmitted to the *Romans*, and in *Numa*'s Reign were preparing and ſeeking for an Opportunity to ſhake off their Yoke, had now drawn their Forces together at *Fidenæ*, with deſign to fall upon both *Romans* and *Albans*, after they had weaken'd themſelves in Battel. The News of theſe Preparations at firſt put the Armies to a ſtand, and made 'em both decline fighting for a while; till at laſt *Fuffetius* fearing theſe People, and *Hoſtilius* deſiring

ſiring to puniſh 'em, came both to a ſort of an Accommodation; agreeing, *That for the Safety of both Nations, the Quarrel ſhould be decided by a Combat of three Perſons on each ſide, and the Conquering Party ſhould obtain the Pre-eminence and Command over the other.* Theſe Propoſals were no ſooner ratify'd, but many valiant Perſons, ambitious of the Honour of ſerving their Country, offer'd themſelves to be the Combatants, but could not be accepted of, others being before agreed upon: For it happen'd that one *Segvinius* of *Alba* had formerly two Daughters, one marry'd to *Curiatius* an *Alban*, and the other to *Horatius* a *Roman*, who being both with Child at the ſame time, were deliver'd of three Sons at a Birth. Now, to theſe two Ternions of Brothers were this great Combat committed, as being of equal Years, Strength, and Courage; and all Matters of Conſanguinity and private Affections diſpens'd withal.

Now was the Fate of *Rome* to be decided by ſix Perſons only, which rais'd all Peoples Hopes and Fears to a more than ordinary pitch: The Liſts were prepar'd between the two Armies, Judges were appointed, and the Combat perform'd with extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity, and with as much Courage and Reſolution on both ſides. The *Curiatii* were in a ſhort time all wounded; but two of the *Horatii* were ſlain downright, and the third, unhurt, left to oppoſe three Adverſaries. At this the *Albans* gave a great Shout; but he, not the leaſt daunted, cunningly retreated as tho' he had wholly fled, and drawing 'em out ſeverally, ſo as to have but one againſt him at once, he ſlew them all, and *Rome* became Conqueror. At his return to the City, his Siſter met him with many provoking and reproachful Words, for imbruing his Hands in the Blood of his Coſin-Germans, whereof one was contracted to her; upon which *Horatius*, elevated with the Honour of his Conqueſt, and tranſported with the

Love

Love of his Country, slew her upon the Spot. For which Fact, when he was accus'd, *Hostilius* avoided giving Judgment himself, but hereupon created *Duumviri.* those Officers call'd *Duumviri*, for Capital Punishments, and they condemn'd him: But there lying an Appeal from these Officers to the People, they gave him his Life at the Request of his Father, who esteem'd it as a great and heroick Act, and gave his Daughter ignominious Burial, *for a dreadful Example to all who preferr'd Private Respect before the Publick Good.* *Hostilius* dealt very gently with the *Albans*, but, notwithstanding, for the Advantages gain'd over them, had a Triumph.

U. C. 85. II. The *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, finding that they were like to be call'd to an Account for their treacherous Practices, now broke into open Rebellion; and *Fuffetius* enrag'd at the Event of the late Combat, and hoping to free himself from the *Roman* Power, privately encourag'd 'em with large Promises of Assistance if they stood in need of it. The *Romans* and *Albans* now made up one Army, and were advancing towards the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*; but, upon their nigh approach, *Fuffetius*, who had laid all his Designs before-hand, drew off all the *Alban* Troops on one side, with a Resolution of joining with the prevailing Party. The *Romans*, apprehending the danger of their Separation, and fearing some Treachery, were greatly discourag'd at it; but *Hostilius*, tho' satisfy'd of the Villany, immediately gave it out as publickly as he cou'd, *That it was done by his Order, and was all a Stratagem to surprize the Enemy:* At this unexpected Report the *Fidenates* and their Companions were quite disheartened, upon suspicion of their Friends Infidelity, and, in a short time, were put to the Rout by the *Romans*; for which Victory *Hostilius* triumph'd a second time. After the Battel, *Fuffetius* join'd with the *Romans* again,

again, like one that had done nothing amiſs; but *Hoſtilius*, aſſembling the whole Body of the *Albans*, and then laying before them all his treacherous Practices and villainous Deſigns, caus'd him to be torn in pieces by Horſes; having before-hand ſent *Marcus Horatius* to *Alba*, who utterly demoliſh'd that City, and tranſplanted the Inhabitants to *Rome*. Thus fell the City of *Alba*, once famous for its Riches and Number of Inhabitants, after it had flouriſh'd 487 Years.

Rome grew much in Strength, Riches and Grandeur out of the Ruines of *Alba*; Mount *Cælius* being appointed for the Inhabitants that came from thence, and the King allowing 'em all the *Roman* Privileges. He choſe the Nobility of the *Albans* into the *Senate*, particularly the *Tullii*, *Servilii*, *Quintii*, *Geganii*, *Curiatii*, and the *Clelii*; and that he might out of thoſe new People make ſome Addition to the Strength of every Order, he choſe ten Troops of Horſe out of the *Albans*. In confidence of this his Strength, after an entire Reduction of the *Fidenates*, he declar'd War againſt the *Sabines*, who before had committed ſeveral Robberies upon the *Romans* that traded with 'em. He met 'em at the Wood call'd *Malitioſa Silva*, where, eſpecially by the help of his Horſe, who broke all their Ranks, after a ſhort Engagement, he entirely defeated 'em, forcing 'em to beg Peace; over whom he obtain'd a third Triumph. The *Latines* were not yet quiet, refuſing to pay Obedience to the *Romans*, which occaſion'd ſeveral Conteſts; but this War was manag'd with great Moderation, no Battel being fought, no Town taken or plunder'd beſides *Medullia*, which *Hoſtilius* puniſh'd for an Example, becauſe it had receiv'd a *Roman* Colony in *Romulus*'s time. U. C. 88.

This War laſted moſt of the reſt of his days, and in the latter end of his Reign, *Rome* was much infected with Plagues and Famines, and as much frighten'd

frighten'd with Prodigies. Then *Hſtilius* began to think of bringing in the Religious Ceremonies of *Numa*, which he had all this Time took little notice of; but ſoon after he died, after a Reign of 32 Years; ſome ſay by Lightning, with his whole Family, tho' more propably by ſome treaſonable Practices. In this Reign, the 300 *Celeres* were again reaſſum'd, which had been diſus'd in the laſt; and the City was very much increas'd, tho' the Dominions were little different from thoſe in *Romulus*'s Days, only they ſeem'd to have a ſurer Footing in ſome places than before.

CHAP. IV.

From the Death of Hoſtilius, *to the Death of* Ancus Marcius, *the Fourth King of* Rome.

Containing the Space of 24 Years.

U. C. 115. I. AFter the Death of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, the State fell into an *Inter-regnum*, as formerly; and in a ſhort time, *Ancus Marcius* was made King by the *Inter-rex* and *Senate*, and was confirm'd ſo by the People. He had his Surname *Ancus* from his *crooked* Arm, which he cou'd not ſtretch out in length, as *Feſtus* has it: He was Grand-ſon to *Numa*, the ſecond King of *Rome*, by *Pompilia* his Daughter, and *Marcius* his Kinſman, who was the Son of that *Marcius* who had perſuaded *Numa* to accept of the Kingdom, and after *Numa*'s Death had kill'd himſelf becauſe he did not ſucceed him. This Prince was much of the ſame Temper with his Grand-father *Numa*, and conſidering that much of the Religion, and many of the Ceremonies had been neglected in the laſt Reign, he ſet himſelf to reſtore them

them to their former Uſe. For that Reaſon he inſinuated to the People, that the Diſeaſes, Peſtilence, and other innumerable Calamities which had lately befallen the City, together with the diſaſterous End of *Hoſtilius*, proceeded from want of Devotion, and a Neglect of their Gods. He highly commended the Orders and Inſtitutions of *Numa*, and wou'd be often ſhewing the great Bleſſings of the State, and how much it flouriſh'd under that happy Reign; adviſing his Subjects to return to their Husbandry and more peaceable Employments, and to lay aſide all ſorts of Violence, and all Profit that ariſes from War and Bloodſhed.

The State thus ſettl'd, he expected, as his Grand- *U. C.*
father had done, to paſs his time free from all Wars 116.
and Troubles; but he ſoon found his Deſigns croſs'd, and was compell'd to be a Warrior againſt his Will, and was ſcarce ever free from publick Perils and Troubles. He had ſcarce began his Reign, and modell'd the Common-wealth, when the *Latines* contemning him as a ſluggiſh Prince, and unfit for Military Affairs, made Incurſions into the *Roman* Territorities. Upon which, he was oblig'd to make all neceſſary Preparations for a War, proclaiming it according to the *Ceremonies* appointed by his Grandfather *Numa*. Firſt, an Ambaſſador was ſent to the Frontiers of the Aggreſſor's Country, who in a Woollen Shaſh, and a peculiar Dreſs, and likewiſe in a ſolemn Form of Speech, demanded Satisfaction; which not being granted in 33 Days, after a Conſultation with the *Senate*, the *Feciales* or *Heralds* were immediately ſent in their proper Habits, with Javelins headed with Iron, or all bloody and burnt at the end; where in the preſence of three young Men at leaſt, they in the Name of the Gods and People of *Rome*, ſolemnly proclaim'd War with that Country, and then threw their Javelins into their Confines. This Cuſtom was brought in by *Numa*,

the

the Rules whereof were taken from the *Æquicoli*, a very ancient People.

Ancus began this War with good Succeſs, and firſt took *Politorium* by Storm, a Town of the *Latines*, 14 or 15 Miles South East of *Rome*; the Inhabitants of which, according to the uſual Cuſtom, he tranſplanted to *Rome*, allowing them the Privileges of Free Citizens. And whereas the old *Romans* inhabited the *Palatine*, the *Sabines* the *Capitoline*, and the *Albans* the *Cælian*, he granted the *Aventine* Hill for the *Latines* to poſſeſs; the number of whom were encreaſed, upon the ſubduing of *Tellene* and *Ficania*, two *Latine* Towns nigh *Politorium*, which he took ſoon after. He in a little time likewiſe took *Medalia*, a Place of conſiderable Strength, and alſo *Politorium* again; for the *Latines* finding it empty, had poſſeſs'd themſelves of it, which made *Ancus* intirely demoliſh it. The *Latines*, inrag'd at their Loſſes, made greater Preparations for the next Campaign; but, at ſeveral times, he ruin'd their Deſigns, broke
U. C. their united Forces, forc'd 'em to beg Peace, and
117. obtain'd a Triumph over 'em. Not long after he ſubdu'd the *Fidenates*, *Veientes*, and the *Volſci*, who had fallen out with him; and likewiſe ſuch of the *Sabines*, who, not having felt the Strength of *Rome*, had ſorely repin'd at the exceeding Growth of an
U. C. upſtart City. Theſe latter he overthrew again, and
120. obtain'd over them a ſecond Trumph.

II. *Ancus* did not only perform many great Acts abroad, but alſo did many noble Works at home: Firſt, upon the Account of the Succeſs of his Arms, he rebuilt the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius* after a more ſtately and magnificent manner than before. He fortify'd the Hill *Janiculum*, on the other ſide of the River *Tiber*, for the greater ſtrengthning of the City, and to prevent its being a Refuge for Enemies, uniting it to the City with a Wooden Bridge over that

that River. He likewiſe made a large Ditch call'd *Foſſa Quiritium*, which was no ſmall Defence againſt ſuch as came from the Plains. And now, the City having receiv'd a vaſt Increaſe, ſeeing that ſuch Multitudes of People of all ſorts cou'd not but produce many Criminals, he built a large Priſon for Malefactors in the Heart of the City, juſt facing the *Forum*, to be a Terror to their growing Boldneſs. He did not only enlarge the *Pomærium* of the City, but likewiſe its Dominions; for having taken from the *Veientes* the *Mæſian* Foreſt, his Territories reach'd to the Sea, upon which, at the Mouth of the River *Tiber*, he built a Town call'd *Oſtia*, nigh 10 Miles South of *Rome*, to ſecure the Advantages of Trade to his Subjects; for thither Commodities being brought by Ships, were in leſſer Veſſels convey'd up the *Tiber* to this City; and about this Town, many Salt-pits were made. *U. C.* 127.

This Prince, as well as his Predeceſſors, was very ready and careful to encourage Strangers; and by reaſon of the frequent Advancement of ſuch, and the great Privileges they receiv'd, many came daily hither, and often ſuch as were of good Note. Among theſe, *Lucumon* an *Hetrurian* was one, a Perſon of great Accompliſhments as well as large Poſſeſſions, who came hither from *Tarquinia*, in *Hetruria*, with his Wife *Tanaquil*, and ſeveral Followers. He was Son to *Damaratus*, a rich Merchant of *Corinth*, who had left his Country upon the Account of the Troubles at that time, and ſettled in *Tarquinia*, where marrying a noble Matron, he had this Son, beſides another who died Childleſs. *Lucumon* finding no Incouragement in his own Country, being the Son of a Foreigner, remov'd to *Rome*, where by his Hoſpitality and Bounty he ſoon became known to the King; having now taken upon him the Name of *Lucius*, adding that of *Tarquinius* from the Place of his Birth. He was honourably treated by *Ancus*, to

whom he generouſly offer'd his whole Patrimony for the Publick Good, and by that means obtain'd Freedom for himſelf and Followers, with Lands both for Building and for Suſtenance. *Ancus* in a little time choſe him into the *Senate*, for he was greatly eſteem'd by the King, and as much belov'd by the People; no Man being more hardy in War, or more prudent in Counſel.

Ancus beſtow'd moſt of his latter time in inriching his Subjects, and improving the City, and at the end of 24 Years Reign he died; a Prince not inferior to any of his Predeceſſors, either for the Glory he gain'd in Peace or War. He left behind him two Sons, both under Age, which he committed to the Guardianſhip of the forementioned *Lucius Tarquinius*, as the fitteſt Perſon he cou'd employ in ſuch an Office. The *Romans* Dominions were now encreas'd beyond what they were in the laſt Reign, by a larger Part of *Hetruria*, taken from the *Vuientes*, and a much better Footing in *Latium*.

CHAP. V.

From the Death of Ancus Marcius, *to the Death of* Tarquinius Priſcus, *the Fifth King of* Rome.

Containing the Space of 38 *Years.*

U. C. 138. I. *Ancus* being dead, the *Senate* receiv'd Power from the People, to order the Affairs of the Common-wealth, and created certain *Inter-reges*, as formerly. In this ſhort *Inter-regnum*, *Tarquin* was extremely buſy about the Election of a King, having great hopes of himſelf: Therefore to remove all Obſtacles to his Deſigns, he ſent *Ancus*'s two Sons out a Hunting, the eldeſt being then nigh 14 Years of

of Age, and assembling the People, he made a plausible Speech to 'em, wherein he plainly begg'd the Kingdom, urging the Examples of *Tatius* and *Numa*; *the first an Enemy as well as a Stranger, and the second wholly unacquainted with the City,; whereas he himself was so great a Friend to the City, that he had spent all his Riches upon it; and so well acquainted with it, that he had been train'd up several Years both in Civil and Military Affairs, under their King.* Then he cunningly insinuated his past Services, and insisting more than ordinary upon his Liberality, he obtain'd the Kingdom, being the first who obtain'd it by his own ambitious seeking. At the beginning of his Reign, the better to gain the Love of the Common People, he chose out 100 of the *Plebeians*, who for Valour or Wisdom were most Eminent, and added them to the *Senate*, which made up the Number 300; those of *Romulus*'s Creation being call'd *Patres Conscripti*, these were call'd *Patres minorum Gentium*; that is, *Senators of a lower Rank.* He likewise encreas'd the Number of *Vestal* Virgins from four to seven; but *Plutarch* says there were but two before.

Patres minorum Getium.

His first War was with the *Latines*, from whom he took several Towns, among the rest *Collatia*, a Place five Miles North-East of *Rome*; over which he plac'd his Nephew *Aruns Tarquinius* for Governor, the *Posthumous* Issue of his Brother, surnam'd *Egerius*, from his want of Patrimony, and *Collatinus* from the Place, which Surname continu'd to his Posterity. Notwithstanding the *Latines* great Supplies from *Hetruria*, he soon forc'd 'em to beg Peace, and then turn'd his Arms against the *Sabines*, who had again risen up against *Rome.* Both Armies met upon the Banks of *Anio*, where the *Romans* made use of a Stratagem, by sending a Party of Men to burn a great heap of Wood that lay by the River-side, and to throw it in; which being driven forwards by the Wind, much of the flaming Wood got hold on

U. C. 139.

the Wood of the Bridge, and ſet it on Fire. This not only terrify'd the *Sabines* while they were engaging, but when they were routed, hinder'd their Flight, their Bridge being burnt down; and therefore many of 'em, tho' they eſcap'd the Sword, periſh'd in the Water; whoſe floating Arms being carried down the *Tiber* to *Rome*, diſcover'd the Victory there, almoſt before the News cou'd be carry'd. *Tarquin* proceeded to march into the *Sabine* Territories, where the *Sabines*, tho' with ſmall Hopes, met him with an undiſciplin'd Army; and being defeated a ſecond time, they were forc'd to beg Peace. Over the *Sabines Tarquin* obtain'd his firſt Triumph.

U. C. 143. Soon after the *Sabines* War was finiſh'd all *Hetruria* (or rather the neighbouring Parts) combin'd againſt him, upon the Account of his detaining ſome Priſoners of theirs whom he had taken among the *Sabines*. They had made a Law among themſelves, *That whatever Town refus'd to join againſt the* Romans, *ſhou'd not be accounted of their Body*; and they ſoon after poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Fidenæ*, a *Roman* Colony. But he was ſo ſucceſsful againſt 'em, as to overthrow 'em in ſeveral Battels, and upon his preparing for another Campaign, they were humbled, and to purchaſe Peace, they own'd him for their Prince; and, in Tokens of Allegiance, ſent him all the Enſigns of Sovereignty which their Kings were uſually adorn'd with: Theſe were, *a Crown of Gold, an Ivory Chair, a Scepter with an Eagle on the Top, a Purple Coat wrought with Gold, and a Purple Gown pink'd*, almoſt like the Robes of the *Perſian* and *Lydian* Kings, only it was not four-ſquare, but of a ſemi-circular Figure. From hence alſo came the Robes and Coats us'd by the *Augurs* and *Heralds*, with many of their Ornaments us'd in *Rome* afterwards; the *Axes* they had before, tho' now they receiv'd 'em again. Over theſe People *Tarquin* triumph'd a ſecond time. This War finiſh'd, which

U. C. 153.

con-

continu'd nine Years, he fell a ſecond Time upon the *Sabines*, who now alone contended with the *Romans* for Superiority, over whom he obtain'd a third Triumph; and providing for another Expedition, they yielded, whom he receiv'd on the ſame Terms with the *Hetrurians*.

II. *Tarquin* was no leſs mindful of ſtrengthning the City at home, than of enlarging his Dominions abroad; for when he found leiſure, he built the Walls of the City, which before were patch'd up in haſte, with large ſquare Stones, each conſiſting of a Load Weight. Then he took care of the other Publick Buildings of the City, adorning the *Forum* with lofty *Portico*'s, *Galleries*, and *Shops*, being a Prince much delighted with ſtately Buildings and noble Sights. He likewiſe made many *Cloacæ* or *Common-Sewers*, to drain the City, and carry the Filth of it into the *Tiber*; a Work of ſuch vaſt Charge and Labour, that when they were afterwards ſtopp'd, the *Cenſors* ſpent 1000 Talents only to clear 'em; a Work likewiſe ſo admirable, that *Dionyſius* thinks, that from the Magnificence of theſe as well as their *Aquæducts* and *Highways*, the Grandeur of the *Roman* Empire appear'd. In the *Circus Maximus*, that vaſt Place for Games and Exerciſes, between the *Palatine* and *Aventine* Hills, he caus'd Seats to be rais'd for the Spectators, with great Skill and Charge; and likewiſe diſtinguiſh'd all their Places according to their ſeveral Ranks and Dignities. In the *Sabine* War he vow'd a Temple to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, if he got the Victory; for that reaſon afterwards he, with wonderful Coſt, levell'd the Rock on the *Capitoline*, and form'd a Plat for building it, but liv'd not to go on with it any further; and this was the beginning of the *Capitol*.

Cloacæ.

Tarquin had deſign'd after theſe things, to have added three Centuries of the *Celeries*, to thoſe three

inſtituted by *Romulus*, but was forbidden by *Actius Nævius* to alter the Conſtitutions of that King; therefore without creating of new *Centuries*, he doubled the Number of the former. This *Nævius* was the moſt famous *Augur* that *Rome* ever knew; and *Tarquin* one time, to try him, ask'd him, *If what he had in his Thought might be done*; he anſwering in the Affirmative, *Tarquin* jeeringly told him, *He thought of cutting a Whetſtone with a Razor*; *Nævius* bad him ſtrike hard, and he cut it through. This much enhanc'd the Reputation of *Augury*, eſpecially of *Nævius*'s Skill therein; but his being ſuddenly miſs'd ſoon after, was a great Prejudice to *Tarquin*: For the two Sons of *Ancus Marcius* grudging him their Father's Throne, accus'd him to the People of the Death of this *Augur*; but his Son-in-law anſwer'd their Objections, and clear'd him of that Scandal. Miſſing their Deſign, they pretended Repentance, and were eaſily receiv'd into Favour: But three Years after, they diſguis'd ſeveral of their Companions like Shepherds, and appearing in Court, pretended a Quarrel, and demanded Juſtice of the King, *Tarquin* appearing, they ſet upon him, and kill'd him; but were ſoon caught, and receiv'd their juſt Reward.

Thus fell *Lucius Tarquinius*, for diſtinction ſurnam'd *Priſcus*, after the laſt *Tarquin* had obtain'd the Kingdom, in the eighteenth Year of his Age after he had reign'd 38 Years, and done many and great Services to the Common-wealth. The *Roman* Greatneſs and Magnificence began to appear much more in this Reign, than in the former; and this King was the firſt that ever triumph'd in a Chariot: Likewiſe the *Roman* Dominions were much increas'd in this Reign, by a larger Authority in the *Sabines* Country, and by ſome conſiderable Additions in *Hetruria* and *Latium*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

From the Death of Tarquinius Priſcus, *to the Death of* Servius Tullius, *the Sixth King of* Rome.

Containing the Space of 44 *Years.*

I. *Tarquinius Priſcus*, being dead, *Servius Tullius* his Son-in-law ſucceeded him; which *Tullius* was Son to *Ocriſia*, a conſiderable Woman, taken Priſoner by *Tarquin* at *Corniculum*, a Town in *Latium*, and given to his Wife *Tanaquil*; where ſhe was deliver'd of *Tullius*, ſurnamed *Servius*, in remembrance of her Bondage, her Husband being ſlain at the taking of the Town. *Tullius* being an Infant in his Cradle, a Flame of Fire is ſaid to have appear'd and encompaſs'd his Head; which rais'd great Expectations in *Tanaquil*, a Woman much eſteem'd for ſuch kind of Knowledge. She brought her Husband to ſo good an Opinion of him, that he both gave him Education, and in time made him his Son-in-law. When the King grew old, he manag'd his Publick Affairs for him both abroad and at home, with that Valour, Prudence, and Integrity, that he gain'd the higheſt Eſteem of all People. *Tarquinius* having no Sons, but only two Grand-ſons, both Infants, *Tanaquil* much deſir'd that *Tullius* ſhou'd ſucceed him, therefore ſhe kept his Death private for a while, pretending he was only dangerouſly wounded till *Tullius* had prevail'd with the People to baniſh the *Marcii*. Being thus ſecure of that Faction, he carry'd out *Tarquin*, as newly dead, to be bury'd; and as Tutor or Guardian to the young Children, executed the Office of King; which *Tanaquil*, out of the Window, had told the People was her Husband's Will, when ſhe feign'd him ſtill alive. *U. C.* 176.

alive. The *Patritians* were much concern'd at this, not knowing how to come to an Election, since they perceiv'd the People wou'd not approve of their Choice, but wou'd be all for *Tullius*; so they thought it better to let him reign in an unlawful Manner, that they might ever have a just Pretence against him, than by stirring to procure him a legal Title.

Tullius discovering all their Designs and Practices, immediately assembled the People in the *Forum*, where appearing with his Mother, Mother-in-law, the two Children, and all his Kindred, in deep Mourning, and all the utmost Signs of Sorrow, he shew'd the People *how sad and lamentable his Condition was, thro' the Contrivances of the* Patritians *against him, which he had no otherwise deserv'd, than by his good Services to his Country, That they had design'd to recal the* Maocii, *who had treasonably murder'd* Tarquin, *and to expose the Posterity of him whose Memory ought to be so precious to 'em, as well as himself, to the same Cruelty: But if it was the Pleasure of the People, he wou'd freely give up all Pretensions; and, rather than offend them, undergo the severest Hardships.* A great Clamour immediately arose, mix'd with the Prayers and Tears of those who besought him to retain the Government; and some, who were provided beforehand, began to cry out, *He was to be chosen King, and the* Curiæ *were to be call'd to the Vote*; which thing was instantly resolv'd by the Multitude. He thank'd 'em very heartily for being mindful of the Benefits receiv'd from him, and promised to pay their Debts, and divide the Publick Lands among such as wanted, if they would elect him King; and thereupon he appointed a Day for the Assembly. At the *Comitia Curiata* he was chosen King by the Votes of 'em all, in spite of all the Opposition of the Senate, who refus'd at last to confirm the Choice as their Custom was,

II. Not

II. Not long after his Settlement, according to his Promiſe, he divided the Publick Lands among the poorer ſort; and in the *Curiata Comitia* preſerr'd fifty ſeveral Laws concerning Contracts and Injuries. He very much enlarg'd the City, taking in three Hills to the four former, namely, the *Quirinal*, the *Viminal*, and the *Eſquiline*; on the latter of which he dwelt himſelf, and compaſs'd the whole Seven with a ſtately Wall: Some ſay the Walls were never extended further, tho' vaſt Suburbs were afterwards added. After this, he divided the City into four Parts, and inſtead of three, made four *Tribes*, which he call'd by the Names of *Palatina*, *Suburana*, *Collina*, and *Eſquilina*. As *Romulus*, according to their Seats and Communions in Sacrifices, diſtinguiſh'd the People into *Tribes* and *Curiæ*; ſo *Tullius*, according to their Eſtates and Riches, diſtinguiſh'd 'em into ſix *Ranks* call'd *Claſſes*. His principal Deſign was to know how many were fit to bear Arms, and what Treaſure might be ſupply'd for Wars and other Uſes. Theſe *Claſſes* were each divided into *Centuries* (the Word here ſignifying ſuch a particular Diviſion, and not 100 Perſons) which made up 193 in all. The firſt conſiſted of ſuch as were worth 110000 *Aſſes* (each anſwering to *ob. q.* of our Money and contain'd 98 *Centuries*, the *Equites* or *Knights* being reckon'd in: The ſecond valu'd at 75000 *Aſſes*, containg 22 *Centuries*, taking in *Artificers*; the third at 50000 *Aſſes*, containing likewiſe 22 *Centuries*; the fourth at 25000 *Aſſes*, containing 20 *Centuries*; the fifth at 11000 *Aſſes*, containing 30 *Centuries*; and the ſixth conſiſted of the reſt of the poorer Sort and Multitude, excepting Servants and Slaves, which made up but one *Century*. U. C. 177. *Claſſes.* *Centuries.*

The conſtant way of levying Men and Money, was, for the future, according to theſe *Centuries*, each *Century* ſuch a quantity; ſo that the middle Rank *Cenſus.*

having

having fewer *Centuries*, and yet more Perſons than the richer, went to War by turns, and paid but little Tribute; and the poorer ſort ſcarce bore any Share at all. This ſeem'd very juſt to him, that they who were moſt concern'd ſhould take moſt Pains, and bear the greateſt Charge; the *Romans* at that time maintaining themſelves in the Wars without any Pay from the Publick. But to the richer ſort who ſuſtain'd moſt of the Charge and Danger, the King made a ſufficient Recompence, by giving 'em much the larger Authority in the Government, which he politickly brought about this way: Formerly the Matters of the greateſt Concern, namely, *The Creation of all Magiſtrates, making or repealing of Laws*, and *decreeing of Peace and War*, were all voted in the *Comitia Curiata*; where every particular and private Perſon having an equal Vote, the *Plebeians* being moſt numerous, had in a manner the whole Power in their hands. But *Tullius*, upon theſe and the like Occaſions, aſſembled the People according to their *Centuries*, which were call'd *Comitia Centuriata*, where the *Plebeians* muſt of neceſſity be out-voted, having little more than the Shadow of Authority, which they, for many Years, were ſufficiently ſatify'd withal; either for that they perceiv'd not the Deſign, or rather, becauſe they were thereby freed from the greateſt Part of the Charges, Troubles, and Danger of the Publick.

Comitia Centuriata.

After the *Cenſus* or Tax *Tullius* firſt inſtituted the *Luſtrum* to be celebrated, ſo call'd *à luendo*, from paying. On a certain Day after the *Valuation* or *Cenſus*, he ordain'd all the Citizens to meet in the *Campus Marcius*, all in Armour, each Man in his proper *Claſs* and *Century*; where, by ſolemn Sacrifices, the City was *Expiated* or *Luſtrated*. This great Solemnity was call'd *Salitaurilia*, or rather *Suovetaurilia*, becauſe a Hog, a Sheep, and an Ox were there ſacrific'd. Theſe things perform'd, the *Luſtrum* was finiſh'd, which,

Luſtrum. *U. C.* 187.

which, becauſe of the continual Change of Mens Eſtates, he order'd ſhou'd be reiterated every five Years; ſo that the old and proper *Luſtrum* contain'd five Years compleat, which was as often as this *Tax of Valuation*, call'd *Cenſus*, was made; tho' afterwards the *Julian Luſtrum* contain'd but four. *Tullius* held the *Luſtrum* four times in his Reign, and at the firſt were found 84700 Free Citizens; but, to encreaſe their Number, he brought in the Cuſtom of making Slaves free of the Common-wealth, either for their Money or their Deſerts, who being *Manumitted*, he diſtributed into the four *Tribes* of the City. *Slaves*, as was hinted before, had never any Vote in the Government, and theſe were either made, or born ſo; the former ſort were taken in War, thence properly call'd *Mancipia*; and the latter ſort came of Parents, who were ſuch, or of the Mother only. *Mancipia.*

Beſides the Diviſion of the City itſelf, this Prince took an extraordinary Care about the *Roman* Dominions, dividing the whole Territory into 26 Parts, which he likewiſe call'd by the Name of *Tribes*; and theſe he again diſtinguiſh'd into their ſeveral *Pagi*, appointed for 'em their reſpective Officers and Places of Worſhip, as *Numa* had done when the Dominions were much ſmaller. In his way of judging of Controverſies, he gave away much of the Kingly Prerogative; for whereas the former Princes call'd before themſelves all Controverſies, and took Cognizance of Crimes committed againſt private Perſons, as well as the publick, he ſeparated their Cauſes, making himſelf Judge only of ſuch as reſpected the Common-wealth, referring the Quarrels of particular Perſons to others, to whom he preſcrib'd Laws and Rules to go by; and if any Controverſy aroſe between particular Towns, it was to be decided by the Judgment of others. After he had thus order'd the Common-wealth, he caus'd the *Latines* to build a Temple to *Diana*, upon the *Aventine* Hill, at which

which Place they ſhould meet and feaſt every Year, and ſo preſerve themſelves as one Body Politick in Unity and Concord. To all theſe things we may add, that he was the firſt who coin'd Money in *Rome*, ſtamping it with the Image of a Sheep, whence it had the Name of *Pecunia*, whereas the *Romans* before this time us'd it in a rude *Lump* or *Maſs*.

Pecunia.

III. At the ſame time that *Tullius* was ſettling and ordering the Affairs of the Common-wealth at home, he was often employ'd in many and conſiderable Wars abroad: For the *Hetrurians* looking upon him as an obſcure Man, and a private Perſon, refus'd to pay him Obedience, and renounc'd the League made with his Predeceſſor *Tarquin*. He had Wars with 'em for 20 Years ſucceſſively, overthrew 'em in many Battels, and triumph'd over 'em three ſeveral times; the firſt time in the Year 182, the ſecond in 186, and the third time in 188. And at laſt he ſo weaken'd and harraſs'd them, that they were willing to beg Peace of him, which he granted 'em upon the ſame Terms that *Tarquin* before had impoſs'd upon 'em; only from three of the twelve Nations, namely, the *Veintes*, the *Cæretanes*, and the *Tarquini*, which had been Principals in the Revolt, he took part of their Lands, and divided 'em among ſuch as were lately made free of *Rome*. At the finiſhing of theſe Wars, he built two Temples, both dedicated to *Fortune*, one to *Fortuna Bona*, and the other to *Fortuna Virilis*. In the latter end of his Reign he deſign'd to have laid down his Office, and reſtor'd abſolute Liberty, with the Care of the Common-wealth to the People, and was preparing a Model for that purpoſe, but liv'd not to perform it; for being old, and not far from the natural Period of his Life, he was ſlain by his Daughter and Son-in-law, after this manner.

Tullius had two Daughters, whom he marry'd to *Tar-*

Tarquin's Grandſons, *Lucius Tarquinius* and *Aruns Tarquinius*. The firſt of a proud *tyrannical* Nature, had a very modeſt good Wife; and the laſt, of a mild ſweet Temper, had a haughty wicked Woman. *Lucius* inrag'd at *Tullius* for poſſeſſing his Grandfather's Throne, and finding his Brother's Wife of a fiery Temper, and rather more cruel than himſelf, agreed with her to change Husbands; both promiſing to diſpatch their Conſorts, which they ſoon effected, and were marry'd together. After this, they reſolv'd the utter Ruine of the King, raiſing what Factions they cou'd againſt him, alledging his illegal Title, then claim'd the Crown as Heirs to *Tarquin*. But *Tullius* by his great Modeſty and prudent Management, defeated all their Deſigns, and came off with great Honour, both with the *Senate* and the People; which brought *Lucius* to a feign'd Repentance on his ſide, and that produc'd a real Reconciliation on the King's. *Lucius*, cover'd with this Diſguiſe, took an Opporunity one Day, when moſt of the People were out of the City, to go to the *Senate-houſe*, with the Robes and Royal Enſigns, as King; and getting together ſuch of the Fathers as were his ſpecial Friends, he boldly took Poſſeſſion of the King's Throne. *Tullius* unadviſedly with a few Fellowers haſten'd thither, and going to thruſt him out, *Lucius* threw him down the Stairs. The old Man, hardly recovering his Spirits, was led homewards in great Diſorder, when *Tullius*'s Wife coming to ſee the Event, ſaluted her Husband King, and advis'd him to ſend after *Tullius*, and diſpatch him; which was immediately perform'd. In her Paſſage home, coming to the place where the Body lay, weltring in Blood, and as yet almoſt gaſping, her Charioteer ſtood ſtill, ſtartl'd and amaz'd at the inhumane Spectacle, not having room to paſs by it: Whereupon ſhe in a Rage threw her Footſtool at his Head, and in a barbarous manner forc'd him to drive her over

over it; the Place which before was call'd *Cyprius Vicus*, was after this Act call'd *Sceleratus*.

This was the End of *Servius Tullius*, a Prince of eminent Justice and Moderation, after a prosperous Reign of 44 Years; but the less pity'd upon the account of his undue Admission to the Crown, which made most of the *Patritians* espouse his Successor's Part; especially since he was about altering the Government, which wou'd have prov'd the Weakning, if not the Ruine of their Authority. He left the *Roman* Dominions in much the same Condition, as they were in the last Reign, only he got a larger Footing in *Hetruria*.

CHAP. VII.

From the Death of Servius Tullius, *to the Banishment of* Tarquinius Superbus, *the Seventh King of* Rome, *which caus'd the Dissolution of the* Regal State.

Containing the Space of 25 Years.

U. C. 220. I. *Lucius Tarquinius* having barbarously murder'd his Father-in-law, obtain'd the Kingdom by meer Force and Violence; and by his Tyrannical and Imperious Carriage, soon got the Surname of *Superbus*, as that of *Priscus*, for distinction sake, was given to his Grand-father. He wou'd not permit the King's Body to be publickly interr'd, left the People shou'd rise and cause some dangerous Disturbances, he alledging, *That* Romulus *dy'd without Burial.* He murder'd such as he suspected to be of *Tullius*'s Faction; and fearing the natural Consequences of his Tyranny, he kept a stronger Guard than ordinary about his Person. All Controversies whatsoever he decided himself, assisted by his intimate Friends, and

and executed, baniſh'd, and fin'd all at his own Pleaſure. He endeavour'd to eſtabliſh his Tyranny with the more Security, by great Alliances, marrying his Daughter to *Octavius Mamillius*, the greateſt Man among the *Latines*, being deſcended from *Telegonus* the Son of *Ulyſſes* by *Circe*; and by his falſe Accuſations and a cunning Device, caus'd 'em to ſtone *Turnus Hardonius*, who had diſcover'd to 'em his Baſeneſs and Villany. He neither conſider'd the Conſent of the *Senate* or *People*; but much diminiſh'd the Authority of the former, by the Murder of many of the higher Rank, whoſe Wealth he ſeiz'd on for his own uſe, reſolving to chuſe no more in their Places, that their Power might encreaſe inſenſibly, and in time be worn out.

Amongſt thoſe whom he murder'd for their Eſtates, *Marcus Junius* was one; a moſt eminent Man among the *Romans*, deſcended from the Companions of *Æneas*, and marry'd to *Tarquina*, Daughter to *Tarquinius Priſcus*, by whom he had *Lucius Junius*. This *Lucius* was nobly Educated, and had an admirable Wit and Knowledge, with a profound Judgment and Underſtanding; but after *Tarquin* had privily murder'd his Father and his eldeſt Brother, the better to ſave himſelf, and revenge his Father, he counterfeited himſelf a Fool, and thence had the Surname of *Brutus*. *Tarquin* thinking his Folly real, deſpis'd the Man; and having poſſeſs'd himſelf of his Eſtate, kept him as an Ideot in his Houſe, ſuffering him to converſe with his Children, not out of any Reſpect as a Kinſman, but to make 'em Sport by his ridiculous Words and Actions. It happen'd in the time of a great Peſtilence, he ſent his two Sons, *Sextus* and *Titus*, to conſult the Oracle, and with them *Brutus*, as a Companion for their Diverſion. The Sons were well pleas'd with his Company, and laugh'd very heartily to ſee him offer a wooden Staff to *Apollo*, wherein he had ſecretly convey'd Gold.

Gold. The young Men having executed their Father's Commands, enquir'd of the Oracle, *Which of them ſhou'd be Prince of* Rome? It was anſwer'd, *He who firſt ſhou'd kiſs his Mother*; which the Sons miſunderſtanding, agreed to do it both at their return, and reign jointly together. But *Brutus*, knowing the meaning of the Oracle, as ſoon as they arriv'd at *Italy*, pretended to fall down by chance, and kiſs'd the Earth, which is the common Mother of all Men. After this, he ever made it his Buſineſs to find Opportunities of ruining the Tyrant, and reſtoring the Liberties of *Rome*; all which he carry'd on by a profound Secrecy and a wonderful Diſſimulation.

II. *Tarquin* being a warlike Prince, firſt march'd againſt the *Sabines*, who refus'd to pay him Obedience, and ſoon reduc'd them to Submiſſion; over
U. C. 223. whom he obtain'd a Triumph. Soon after, he began a War with the *Volſci*, a People bordering on *Latium*, which continu'd with ſome little Intermiſſions above 200 Years: From theſe he took *Sueſſa-Pometia*, a conſiderable City about 26 Miles South-Eaſt of *Rome*, where he found great Spoils and Plunder; and over them he obtain'd a ſecond Triumph.
U. C. 225. Next, he fell upon *Gabii*, a City of great Note, 10 or 11 Miles Eaſt of *Rome*, which had taken part with *Sueſſa-Pometia*: He inveſted it, but meeting with great Difficulties, he caus'd his eldeſt Son *Sextus* to counterfeit Deſertion, upon pretence of barbarous Uſage from his Father; who being honourably receiv'd by the *Gabines*, by his cunning and inſinuating Behaviour, got to be their Governor. After ſome time he ſent to his Father to know what Meaſures to take; *Tarquin* took the Meſſenger into the Garden, and, in Imitation of *Thraſybulus* the *Mileſian*, cut down the talleſt Poppies before his Face, then diſmis'd him without any other Anſwer. *Sextus*, knowing the meaning of all that, put to death the

the moſt principal Citizens, and eaſily betray'd the Place into his Father's Hands. After this, *Tarquin* made a League with the *Æqui*, a neighbouring People between the *Volſci* and the *Sabines*, and renew'd that with the *Hetrurians*. U. C. 232.

Tarquin having gain'd great Riches and Spoils from *Sueſſa-Pometia*, reſolv'd to ſet about the Temple his Grandfather had deſign'd; and when he found ſome reſpite from War, he employ'd a great number of Workmen about it. At their digging to lay the Foundation, a Man's Head was found bleeding afreſh, belonging to one *Tolus*, which gave the Name of *CAPITOL* to the Building. It was ſeated upon a high Crag or Rock on Mount *Capitoline*, which from *Romulus*'s Time had been call'd *Mons Tarpeius*, and before that *Saturnius*. It was eight Acres in compaſs, 200 Foot long, and as many broad, wanting 15 Foot, its height being equal to its length; a moſt magnificent Building, dedicated to *Jupiter* in Chief, but containing three Temples within the ſame Walls, the middle belonging to *Jupiter*, and the other two to *Juno* and *Minerva*, all under the ſame Roof. It had a noble Front, looking towards the *South*, to the grand *Forum*, the moſt frequented Part of the whole City. It had alſo a ſtately Porch or Gallery, with three Rows of Pillars, each ſide having a double Row; and to this they aſcended by 100 Steps, with large Spaces between ſeveral of 'em. To carry on this great Work, *Tarquin* employ'd much of the Publick Money and Stock, and likewiſe the Labour of the Common People; but the Building was not finiſh'd till two Years after his Baniſhment. U. C. 240. *Capitol.*

The Building of the *Capitol* was not only counted a great Ornament to the City, in reſpect of Magnificence, but was likewiſe look'd upon as a very great Bleſſing upon the account of Religion: And in the ſame Reign another, as great in their Opinion, happened likewiſe to the *Romans*, wich was this. A cer-

tain ſtrange Woman came to the King, offering to ſell him nine Books of the *Sibylline* Oracles. He refuſing to buy 'em at her Rate, ſhe departed, and burning three of 'em, return'd, demanding as much for the ſix remaining. Being laugh'd at for a Mad-woman ſhe again departed, and burning half of 'em, return'd with the other three, ſtill asking as much as at firſt. *Tarquin*, ſurpriz'd at the ſtrangeneſs of the Thing, immediately ſent for the *Augurs* to know her meaning; who much blam'd him for not buying the nine, and adviſ'd him to buy the three at the ſame rate. The Woman, after the Sale and Delivery, adviſing him to have a ſpecial Care of 'em, vaniſh'd, and was never after ſeen, as *Dionyſius* relates the Story. *Tarquin* choſe two Men out of the Nobility to keep them, to whom he allow'd two Publick Servants; but afterwards, in the time of the Common-wealth, they were kept with the greateſt Care imaginable, 15 of the moſt eminent Perſons of the Nobility being choſen and appointed to keep 'em in a Stone-Cheſt, in a Vault under the *Capitol*; and theſe were exempted from all other Burthens both Military and Civil; and for them only it was lawful to look in 'em. Theſe Magiſtrates from their Number were afterwards call'd *Quindecemviri*. Theſe Oracles were conſulted by the *Senate*'s Decrees in times of Seditions, Plagues, and any publick Calamities; and were kept here till they periſh'd in the burning of the *Capitol*.

Sibyl's *Books*.

Quindecemviri.

U. C. 244. III. The People being ſo much employ'd for four Years together about the Building of the *Capitol*, began to make ſome Complaints; but *Tarquin*, to ſatisfie 'em, but eſpecially to recruit his own Coffers, proclaim'd War againſt the *Rutili*, a People joining to the *Latines*, the *Volſci*, and the Sea, pretending they had receiv'd and entertain'd ſome *Roman* Exiles; and upon that account he inveſted *Ardea*, their Metropolis,

tropolis, a City 16 Miles *South-East* of *Rome*. While he lay before this Place, his Son *Sextus*, with *Tarquinius Collatinus*, the Son of *Egerius Priſcus*'s Nephew, and ſome of the principal Courtiers, were drinking together in the Camp, where there hapned a Diſcourſe concerning their Wives, each Man praiſing his own to a very high degree, which occaſion'd a kind of a Quarrel. *Collatinus* told 'em, *It was in vain to talk, when their Eyes might ſo ſoon convince 'em how much his* Lucretia *excell'd the reſt, if they wou'd but immediately put it to a Tryal;* whereat they all cry'd, *Come on:* And being well heated with Wine, they took horſe without delay, and poſted for *Rome*, from which Place they rod to *Collatia* to ſee *Lucretia*, where coming late at Night they found her, not like the reſt of their Wives, ſpending her Time in Eaſe and Idleneſs, but in the midſt of her Maids hard at Work. Her Goodneſs and Modeſty, as well as her Shape and Beauty, ſo charm'd 'em all, that they unanimouſly gave her the Preference. Here *Collatinus* made a noble Entertainment for his Gueſts, and the next Day return'd with 'em to the Camp.

Sextus, now inflam'd by *Lucretia*'s Beauty, and the more by the Reputation of her fam'd Chaſtity, was reſolv'd to enjoy her upon any Terms; therefore, within few Days after, he went privately with one Servant to *Collatia*, where he was kindly entertain'd by her, and, without any Suſpicion, lodg'd in the Houſe. At Midnight he found means to convey himſelf into her Bed-Chamber, approached her Bed-ſide with his drawn Sword, and rudely laying his Hand on her Breaſt, threatned her with preſent Death, if ſhe offer'd to ſtir or ſpeak. The poor Lady affrighted out of her Sleep, and ſeeing Death ſo night, was in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable; but *Sextus* at firſt, with all the Prayers and Intreaties, told her the Violence of his Paſſion, withal, endeavour'd to corrupt her with the glittering Promiſes

of Empire and a Crown; but all in vain. At laſt he told her, *If ſhe wou'd not yield, he wou'd firſt kill her, then lay his own Slave dead by her ſide, and report it was for ſuprizing her in Adultery with him*; by which means he obtain'd his End, and in the Morning he departed. *Lucretia*, inrag'd at this barbarous Uſage, immediately ſent for her Father from *Rome*, and her Husband from the Camp, deſiring them *to bring with them ſome particular and ſpecial Friends, for a moſt dreadful Miſchief, and that of the vaſteſt Importance, had befall'n her.* With her Father *Lucretius* came *Publius Valerius*, and with her Husband *Lucius Junius Brutus*, formerly mention'd; who finding her in her Chamber, in a moſt lamentable and deſperate Condition, ſhe told 'em the whole Matter, and rejecting all Thoughts of Comfort, ſhe moſt ſolemnly abjur'd 'em all, with the moſt powerful Perſuaſion imaginable, *to revenge her Cauſe to the utmoſt*, and immediately with her Knife, ſtabb'd her ſelf to the Heart, as the trueſt Inſtance ſhe cou'd give of her real Chaſtity.

The whole Company were ſtricken with a Mixture of Sadneſs and Amazement at the Greatneſs as well as the Strangeneſs of the Act; but while they were lamenting over the dead Body, *Brutus* catching at this Opportunity, now threw off his long Diſguiſe, giving them to underſtand, *how far different he was from the Perſon they always took him for*; and further ſhew'd 'em moſt manifeſt Tokens of the greatneſs of his Spirit, and the depth of his Policy. He told 'em, *That Tears and Lamentations cou'd never be heard, whilſt Vengeance cry'd ſo loud*; thereupon, in a great Rage, going to the Body, and drawing the bloody Knife from out the Wound, ſwore by *Mars*, and all the Celeſtial Powers above, *Utterly to exterminate* Tarquin *with his impious Wife and Progeny, to proſecute them and all their Friends with the utmoſt Rage of Fire and Sword, and never after to ſuffer*

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the Tarquins *or any other to Reign in* Rome. Then he deliver'd the Knife to the reſt, who, all wondring at ſo extraordinary a Change in *Brutus*, ſwore as he had done; and turning their effeminate Sorrow to a maſculine Fury, they reſolv'd to follow his Inſtructions, and extirpate Kingly Government. *Brutus*, as ſoon as he cou'd, procur'd the Gates of the City to be ſhut, that all might be kept ſecret from *Tarquin*, till ſuch time as the People might be aſſembled, the dead Body expos'd, and a Publick Decree for *Tarquin*'s Baniſhment procur'd.

The *Senate* being aſſembl'd, all ſhew'd their Willingneſs to baniſh *Tarquin*, but at firſt had very different Opinions concerning the new-modelling of the Government, which probably might make it a tedious Buſineſs. *Brutus* repreſented to 'em the abſolute neceſſity of a quick Diſpatch, and immediately preſcrib'd 'em a Form of Government; ſhewing them, *That before* Tarquin's *violating his own and his Predeceſſors Oath,* Rome *had been happy and famous, both for her Acts abroad, and her Conſtitutions at home; and that the* Regal Power *had at laſt been dangerous, and almoſt deſtructive to the Security of the State, and the Safety of the People; and therefore was not to be truſted in one Man's Hands, but two were to be choſen who ſhou'd govern with equal Authority and Command. Then, becauſe Names alone were offenſive to many People, he thought that of* Kingdom *was to be left off, and the other of* Common-wealth *to be aſſum'd; and, inſtead of the Title of* King *and* Monarch, *ſome more modeſt and popular was to be invented; as likewiſe were ſome of their* Enſigns *to be laid aſide, and others to be retain'd. That the main and only thing to keep theſe Magiſtrates in order, was, to prevent their perpetual Power; and if they were* Annual, *after the manner of* Athens, *each might learn both how to be ſubject, and how to govern.* Laſtly, *That the Name of* King *might not be wholly loſt, the Title was to be given to one who ſhou'd be call'd* Rex Sacroram, *Rex Sacrorum.*

who having this Honour for Life, and Immunity from Warfare, ſhou'd only concern himſelf with thoſe Religious Rites *which the King had charge of before.* The Particulars of this Speech were all approv'd of by the *Senate*, who immediately iſſu'd out a Decree for the King's Baniſhment, in this Form, *That the* Tarquinii *ſhou'd be baniſh'd with all their Offspring, and that it ſhou'd be capital for any one to ſpeak or act for their Return.*

Brutus having procur'd thus much, the *Comitia* were immediately aſſembl'd by him, and the Body of *Lucretia*, all diſmally bloody, brought, and ſet there for a pitiful Spectacle to all the People. There *Brutus*, to their great Surprize, diſcover'd himſelf, telling 'em the Reaſons of his long and ſtrange Diſſimulation, and the great Occaſion of their preſent Meeting, withal ſhewing 'em the *Senate*'s Decree. Then he fell to enumerating all the ſeveral Crimes and Villanies of *Tarquin*, particularly, *That he had poiſon'd his own Brother, ſtrangl'd his Wife, murder'd his lawful Sovereign, and fill'd Ditches and common Sewers with the Bodies of the Nobility: That he came to the Kingdom an Uſurper, and continu'd in it a Tyrant; being treacherous to his greateſt Friends, and barbarous to all Mankind: That his three Sons were of a Temper as Inſolent and Tyrannical as himſelf, eſpecially the eldeſt, of which they now had a ſad and doleful Inſtance before their Eyes. That ſince the King was abſent, and the* Patricians *all reſolv'd, neither Men, Money, nor Foreign Aid ſhou'd be wanting to 'em, had they but Courage for the Enterprize.* Urging withal, *That it was a ſhame to think of Commanding the* Volſci, Sabines, *and Nations abroad, and be Slaves to others at home; and to maintain ſo many Wars to ſerve the ambitious Ends of a Tyrant, and not undertake one for their own Liberty. And that as for the Army at the Siege, their own Intereſts in all reſpects wou'd oblige 'em to join in whatever was agreed upon in the City.*

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The Multitude, tranſported with the Hopes of Liberty, and charm'd with the Perſon and graceful Behaviour of *Brutus*, with lovd Acclamations gave their Aſſent, and immediately call'd for Arms. *Lucretius* was appointed *Inter-rex* for holding the *Comitia*, who ſtrait adjourn'd it to the *Campus Marcius*, where Magiſtrates were elected in their Armour. There he nominated *Brutus* and *Collatinus* to exerciſe the *Regal Power*, as they before had agreed on among themſelves, and the *Centuries* confirm'd 'em by their Suffrages. In the mean time, *Tarquin* having heard ſomething of theſe Tranſactions, came riding in all haſte to the City, with his Sons, and ſome of his moſt truſty Friends, to prevent the Miſchiefs that threaten'd him; but finding the Gates faſt ſhut, and the Walls full of arm'd Men, in great Grief he return'd to the Camp. But *Brutus* foreſeeing his ſudden coming, had induſtriouſly got before him to the Army another way, and acquainted them with the Decree both of Senate and People, preſſing 'em hard to a Revolt. Immediately their Suffrages were call'd over according to their *Centuries*, and they unanimouſly agreed to do exactly as their Friends in the City had done; ſo that when *Tarquin* return'd, they refus'd to admit him. Thus fruſtrated of his Hopes, he went to *Gabii*, or to *Care* in *Hetruria*, now Grey-headed, having reign'd 25 Years. *Herminius* and *Horatius*, chief Commanders of the Army, made a Truce with the Enemy for 15 Years, and raiſing the Siege before *Ardea*, return'd to *Rome* with all their Forces. U. C. 245.

IV. Such was the End of the *Regal State of Rome*, 245 Years after the Building of the City, in the firſt Year of the 68th *Olympiad*, *A. M.* 3496. 31 Years after the Ruine of the *Babylonian* Empire, and the ſetting up of the *Perſian*, 179 before the Beginning of the *Macedonian*, and 507 before our Saviour

Christ, occasion'd by a Man who knew neither how to govern according to the Laws, nor yet to reign against them. The *Roman* Dominions now contain'd most of Old *Latium*, with the greatest part of the *Sabines* Country, a considerable part of *Hetruria*, particularly of the *Veientes*, *Cæretanes*, and *Tarquinii*, besides some small parts of the *Volsci* and *Æqui*; being much about 40 Miles long, and 30 broad; a Spot of Ground not so large by a fourth part as either the Dukedoms of *Modena*, *Parma*, or *Mantua*, and not much larger than the Territory of the Common-wealth of *Luca*; so that this was rightly term'd by Historians, the *Infancy of Rome*, especially since most of these Parts were both able and ready to revolt upon every little Occasion, as the *Romans* often found afterwards; so that it cost 'em many Years trouble, and many hazardous Wars, before they cou'd wholly subdue 'em, and much enlarge their Dominions.

If we look upon the City it self at this time, we may find it increas'd after a far greater Proportion than formerly, and its large Extent, its numerous Inhabitants, and its magnificent Structure, were happy Fore-runners of its future Grandeur and Empire. And these, together with the wise Institution of its Prince, and the great Prudence and Gravity of its *Senate*, were the main Supporters and Preservers of it, in the midst of so many envious Neighbours, and powerful Enemies; tho' indeed the Inhabitants themselves were an exrream rough and unpolish'd People, little acquainted with Knowledge and Learning, and far unlike their Successors in Skill and Conduct: Their Engagements were more like so many Tumults than real Battels, where Obstinacy in Fighting generally supply'd the place of Discipline in War; only they had the good Fortune to deal with Neighbours who had more Barbarity and Ignorance than themselves. In short,

ſhort, what may truly be affirm'd of the Old *Romans*, is, they were a People of moſt extraordinary Courage and Fierceneſs, a People of prodigious Hardineſs and Auſterity of Life, a People of indefatigable Induſtry, and wonderful Lovers of their Country; and from theſe main Springs afterwards proceeded many great and noble Actions.

Before the Concluſion of this firſt Book, to make the *Roman Hiſtory* as clear and intelligible as poſſible, it may be convenient to give a hint of the ſeveral Countries the *Romans* afterwards became Maſters of. Firſt *Gaul*, which was then inhabited by an unciviliz'd, tho' a Warlike People, was broken and divided into a great number of petty Governments. *Spain* and *Germany* were much in the ſame Condition, and *Britain* not much better, as likewiſe was *Dacia* and *Illyricum*. *Greece* was in a moſt flouriſhing wealthy Condition, under ſeveral Monarchs of Renown, and powerful Common-wealths; but not long after became ſubject to the *Macedonian* Empire. *Aſia Minor* was almoſt in the ſame Condition, then ſubjected to the *Perſian*, and next to the *Macedonian* Empires, but at laſt partly freed from the latter. *Armenia* was a conſiderable Monarchy. *Syria*, *Chaldæa*, *Aſſyria*, and *Meſopotamia*, were all powerful States, but ſucceſſively ſubject to the *Perſian* and *Macedonian* Empires, the firſt of which prov'd a ſeparate Kingdom. *Judea* was a ſmall but noble Kingdom. *Ægypt* was alſo a flouriſhing Kingdom, ſubject to its own Kings. *Africa* was a powerful and growing Common-wealth, who had *Sicily* in a great meaſure. As for *Italy* it ſelf, that was divided among many petty Nations and People, as was obſerv'd in the beginning.

The End of the Firſt Book.



THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK II.

The Conſular State of ROME, *from the Beginning of that Government, to the Ruine of it by the Firſt Triumvirate.*

Containing the Space of 449 *Years.*

CHAP. I.

From the Baniſhment of the laſt King, to the firſt Dictator, *which was the firſt Intermiſſion of the* Couſular Power.

Containing the Space of 10 *Years.*

THE State of Affairs in *Rome* was now wholly alter'd, and the Government quite chang'd; Reſtoration of Ancient Privileges was the Peoples conſtant Diſcourſe, and an odd Mixture of Fury and Cunning ran through the whole Body of the Nation, which caus'd 'em to put down Kingly Government and ſet up that of *Conſuls*. Theſe high Officers were in two number, firſt call'd *Prætors*, next *Judices*, and afterwards *Conſuls*, *à Conſulendo*, from Coun- *U. C.* 245. *Conſuls.*

Counselling or Consulting the Common Good of the People: They were yearly elected by the People in the *Centuriata Comitia*, out of the *Patricians* being Persons no less than 43 Years old, or nigh, and of excellent Qualifications, as long as there was little or no Corruptions. The *Consular Power* was at first equal to the *Regal*, till in a short time *Poplicola* brought in the Liberty of *Appealing* to the People: Yet, after this, their Authority was very large, for *they were the Heads of the People and Senate, superiour to all other Magistrates, govern'd the State, dispos'd of the Publick Revenues, administer'd Justice, call'd and dismiss'd the Senate, and all General Assemblies, had all the Laws enacted in their Names, led Armies, appointed Officers, treated with all Foreign Princes and Ambassadors, and transacted many other things in their own Names.* They had also the Royal Ornaments us'd by the Kings, as the *Golden Crown, Scepter, Purple Robes, White Robes*, the twelve *Lictors*, with the *Axes* and *Fasces*, the *Ivory* and *Curule* Chairs; only to prevent the People's Jealousies, the *Crowns* and *Scepters* were never us'd but upon extraordinary Days of Triumph; and commonly one was attended by the *Axes*, and the other by the *Rods*, changing each Month. The first *Consuls* were *L. Junius Brutus*, and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*, who had been the Authors of this Settlement; and they immediately reviv'd the Laws of *Sirvius Tullius*, concerning Publick Meetings and Assemblies, with other things that conduc'd to the Satisfaction of the common sort, who look'd upon their ancient Rights as newly recover'd.

Before Affairs were perfectly settled in the Common-wealth, some Ambassadors from *Hetruria* arriv'd at *Rome*, in behalf of the late King *Tarquin*, who was now so mortify'd, and so sensible of his Mismanagement, that he made very large Promises of observing all regular Administration for the future, *if they wou'd receive him as their lawful King.*

When

When this Propoſal cou'd not be heard, the Ambaſſadors only deſir'd, *That he might have his Goods return'd him, at leaſt ſuch as were his* Grand-father Priſcus's, *who had deſerv'd no Ill at their hands.* But *Brutus* very violently oppos'd that Demand, as being almoſt as dangerous as the other, he eſteeming it no good Policy to furniſh an Enemy with Money againſt themſelves; however his Collegue *Collatine* moſt readily comply'd with it, but putting it to the Vote, it paſs'd in the Negative, the Voices being very nigh equal. The Ambaſſadors meeting with no Succeſs, according to their Inſtructions, made ſeveral plauſible Excuſes for tarrying in *Rome* longer than ordinary; and in that time, by that cunning Management and fair Promiſes, found means to draw over ſome of *Collatine's* Family to their ſides, namely, two of the *Aquilii*, and three of the *Vitellii*, together with *Brutus's* two Sons, *Titus* and *Tiberius*. Theſe, with ſome others, all join'd in a Conſpiracy, keeping their private Meetings at the Houſe of the *Aquilii*, there to conſult about, and manage their Deſigns, which were to kill both the *Conſuls*, and to endeavour to re-inthrone *Tarquin*.

Theſe Conſpirators could not long conceal their Practices, but were diſcover'd by a Slave call'd *Vindicius*, who had accidentally hid himſelf in the ſame Room, fearing to be found there, and not having time to come out. Now *Vindicius*, fearing to diſcover this ſtrange Accident to either of the *Conſuls*, upon the account of ſuch a nigh Relation, went directly to *Valerius*, afterwards call'd *Poplicola*, a great Aſſiſtant in this Revolution, and laid open the whole Plot. *Valerius* was much ſtartled at the Diſcovery, therefore to proceed warily, he firſt ſecur'd the Slave, to have him in readineſs; then ſending his Brother *Marcus* to beſet the King's Palace, and watch all the Servants there, he himſelf, with his Friends and Clients, went to the Houſe of the *Aquilii*, where

where he seiz'd on several Letters writ to *Tarquin* by these Conspirators. The *Aquilii* being abroad, met 'em at the Gate, where they endeavour'd to recover their Letters by force of Arms; but *Valerius*, by the help of his Followers, violently dragg'd 'em to the *Forum*, where he found some of the King's Servants with other Letters, who had been likewise forc'd thither by his Brother *Marcus*. The People throng'd on all sides, but the *Consul*'s Sons drew the Eyes of the whole Multitude upon 'em, and several Tumults were like to arise, till both the *Consuls* came, and ascending the Tribunal, appeas'd all.

Vindicius was immediately sent for by *Valerius*'s Order, and coming before the *Consuls*, he related the whole Story at large, and for a greater Proof against 'em, the Letters were read publickly before all, *Brutus* all the while inwardly burning with Rage and Fury. The accus'd Parties pleaded nothing for themselves, but all stood wonderfully astonish'd, and in a profound Silence; till at last some, to flatter *Brutus*, propos'd *Banishment* as a sufficient Punishment, and *Collatine*'s Tears with *Valerius*'s Silence, gave the Prisoners great hopes of Mercy. But *Brutus* at last rose up, with a stern Majesty, and a Resolution to do something that the World should wonder at: He call'd aloud to both his Sons, *Canst not thou, O* Titus, *nor thou,* Tiberius, *make any Defence against these Crimes now laid to your charge?* This Question he put to them three several times, and receiving no Answer, he turn'd himself to the *Lictors* and Executioners, saying, *Now 'tis your part to perform the rest.* Nor cou'd all the Sentiments of paternal Pity, nor all the sad pleading Looks of the People, nor yet the lamentable Complaints of the unhappy Youths, move the Firmness of his Resolution; but presently the *Lictors* seiz'd on the two young Men, and stripping 'em, ty'd their Hands behind 'em, then tore their Bodies with Scourges, and presently after beheaded 'em; *Brutus* all

all the time gazing on the cruel Spectacle with a moſt ſteady Look and unalter'd Countenance, while the Multitude look'd on with a ſtrange mixture of Pity and Amazement. *Brutus* after this Execution immediately departed out of the *Aſſembly*, leaving the reſt of the *Criminals* to the Diſcretion of his *Collegue*.

Collatine's Backwardneſs in puniſhing the Priſoners encourag'd the *Aquilii* to deſire ſome time to anſwer, and to have their Slave *Vindicius* deliver'd up to 'em, and not to continue in the hands of their Accuſers. *Collatine* was ready to do both, and to diſmiſs the Aſſembly, when *Valerius*, who had the Slave in his hands, wou'd neither deliver him, nor ſuffer the People to break up without cenſuring the Accuſed; but immediately laid hands on the *Aquilii*, and ſent for *Brutus*, exclaiming againſt *Collatine*'s partial Dealings, whereupon the *Conſul* in a Rage commanded the *Lictors* to take away *Vindicius*, who laying hold on him by violence, were aſſaulted by *Valerius*'s Friends, the People all the while crying out for *Brutus*. Upon his appearing, Silence being made, he told the People, *He had already ſhewn himſelf a ſufficient Lover of his Country by his Juſtice to his Sons, and left the other Delinquents to them, giving leave to every Man to ſpeak freely.* They immediately put it to the Vote, and condemn'd 'em to be beheaded, which was preſently executed. *Collatine* finding the People ſo enrag'd at him, partly for the ſake of his nigh Relation to *Tarquin*, and partly for his unfortunate Behaviour in this buſineſs, willingly reſign'd his Place, and departed the City. *Valerius* was ſtrait choſen *Conſul* in his room, who, to reward *Vindicius*, made him Free, allowing him ſome Privileges above former *Freed-Men*; and from him a perfect and full Manumiſſion was afterwards call'd *Vindicta*. This done, the *Conſul* di- *Vindicta.*
vided *Tarquin*'s Goods among the People, demoliſh'd his Palace, and laid the *Campus Martius*, which he had kept to himſelf, open as before, where hapning

to

to be Corn which had been newly cut down, they threw it into the River; and after that the Trees that grew there, which faſtning in the Ground, and ſtopping the Rubbiſh that was brought down by the Stream, at laſt grew into an Iſland, which they call'd *Inſula Sacra.*

Inſula Sacra.

U. C. 246. II. *Tarquin* now finding all his Endeavours ineffectual, drew together a conſiderable Army of *Hetrurians*, and advanc'd towards *Rome*. The *Conſuls* likewiſe drew out theirs to oppoſe him, and upon their joining, the two Generals, *Aruns* the Son of *Tarquin*, and *Brutus* the *Conſul*, imprudently ſingled out each other, and fighting with more Zeal and Fury than Conduct and Diſcretion, were both ſlain. A very bloody Battel follow'd between both Armies, which the Night parted, but with ſuch equal Fortune, that neither Party had much reaſon to boaſt; but in the Night-time, either from a Voice out of a Grove, as the common Story goes, *That the* Hetrurians *had loſt one Man more than the* Romans, or from ſome other extraordinary Fright, the Enemy abandon'd their Camp, and being fallen upon by the *Romans*, were nigh 5000 taken Priſoners, having loſt 11300 in the Battel before. For this Victory *Valerius* triumph'd at his return to the City, after a more magnificent manner than any before him; whoſe Example was always obſerv'd by Poſterity. Soon after, he bury'd his Collegue *Brutus* with great Honour, he himſelf making a *Funeral Oration* in his Commendation; and this Cuſtom was continu'd in *Rome* for the future, upon the Death of all great and memorable Perſons. There was ſuch an univerſal Concern through all the City for *Brutus*'s Death, that the Women by general Con ent mourn'd for him a whole Twelvemonth, which was two Months more than *Numa* had appointed.

Valerius

Valerius now ſole Governor, deferr'd the Election of another Conſul, that he might the more eaſily ſettle the Common-wealth himſelf; but the People complaining, and fearing another *Tarquin*, he ſoon let 'em ſee their Miſtake by his courteous Behaviour and ready compliance with all their Deſires, even to the demoliſhing his own Houſe, which they thought too large and ſtately for him. His courteous and obliging Carriage, and his bowing to the People in the Aſſembly, got him the Name of *Poplicola*. He firſt fill'd up the Senate, which wanted 164 Perſons; then made ſeveral Laws in favour of the People, and for the Retrenchment of the *Conſular* Power. By one, he allow'd an *Appeal* from the Conſuls to the People. By another, he made it Death for any Man to take any Magiſtrate's Office without the People's Conſent. A third, gave relief to poor Citizens, by taking away the payment of Tribute. Another puniſh'd Diſobedience to Conſuls, and appointed a Penalty of five Oxen, and two Sheep; a Sheep being in thoſe days valu'd at ten *Obili*; (each *Obolus* 1 *d.* 1 *q.*) and an Ox at a hundred. Another Law gave Power to any Man to kill the Perſon unheard, who affected the ſupreme Power, if he cou'd demonſtrate the Crime. The laſt Law was for the Creation of two *Quæſtors* or *Publick Treaſurers*, who were to take care of the Publick Monies and Contributions, and appointed the Temple of *Saturn* for the *Ærarium* or Treaſury. Theſe Officers were ſo nam'd *a quærendo*, becauſe they enquire after the Publick Money, and likewiſe after Malefactors. Some ſay *Romulus* and *Numa* had their *Quæſtors*, but then they were for Puniſhment, ſuch as were afterwards the *Triumviri*, for Capital Matters. This *Quæſtorſhip* was the firſt ſtep to the Offices af Magiſtracy, and they were likewiſe to keep the Military Enſigns in the Treaſury, to ſell Plunder and Booty, lodge and carry out Ambaſſadors, and ſeveral other things of the like Nature. *Queſtors.*

Their Number was afterwards very much encreas'd, till in the time of *Julius Cæsar* they came to forty, some being us'd for the Armies, and others for the Provinces. Of which these two of the first Creation were term'd *Urbani*, the rest *Provinciales* and *Militares*.

Poplicola having thus settled Affairs, held an Assembly for the Election of another Consul; where *Lucretius*, the Father of *Lucretia*, was chosen, to whom, as being the Elder, *Poplicola* granted the *Fasces*, or Bundle of Rods, which respect of Age was ever observ'd by their Successors. *Lucretius* dying a few Days after his Creation, was succeeded by *M. Horatius*, in whose time the *Capitol* was finish'd, and the Dedication of it fell to *Horatius*, much against *Poplicola*'s Will, who was forc'd to be abroad in the Wars at the same time. This was perform'd with great Pomp and Solemnity, and with as great a Concourse of People of all sorts. In the same Year was the first League made between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, according to *Polybius*, wherein it was provided that the *Romans* should not sail beyond the *Fair Promontory*, which lay before *Carthage* towards the *North*; but were allow'd to traffick in all that Part of *Africa* on this side the *Promontory*, as also in *Sardinia*, and that part of *Sicily* that was then under the *Carthaginians*. From whence it appears, that the *Carthaginians* look'd upon *Africa* and *Sardinia* as all their own, but *Sicily* only in part; but the *Romans* included in this League only *Latium*, making no mention of the rest of *Italy*, which was not then in their Power. In a little time after *Horatius*'s Election, the time coming for new Consuls to be made, *Poplicola* was chosen a second time, and with him *Lucretius Triciptinus*, in whose time a *Census* being perform'd, 130000 were cess'd and valu'd, besides Widows and Orphans.

III. Be-

III. Before *Poplicola*'s ſecond Conſulſhip was expir'd, *Tarquin* after his laſt Defeat, had betaken himſelf to the *Cluſini*, one of the twelve Nations of *Hetruria*, and had procur'd *Porſena*, King of *Cluſium*, and of great Power, to undertake his Quarrel. *Poplicola*, to appear as magnificent as this King, founded the City *Sigliucia*, or rather *Signia*, while he was approaching, which he fortify'd with great Expence, and planted it with a Colony of 700 Inhabitants. But *Porſena* march'd directly to *Rome*, laid a cloſe Siege to it, and made a furious Attack upon the Place; in which Conteſt the two Conſuls with much difficulty repulſing the *Hetrurians*, were both wounded and carry'd off. Upon which the *Romans* were much diſhearten'd, and flying in great Diſorder, were cloſely purſu'd by the Enemy to the Bridge, who wou'd alſo undoubtedly have enter'd the Town with 'em, had not *Horatius Coecles*, with only *Herminius* and *Lartius*, moſt valiantly oppos'd 'em. *Coecles* defended the Paſſage with a wonderful Bravery, till his own Party found time to break down the Bridge, then caſt himſelf arm'd, as he was, into the River, and ſwam over to his Friends, having receiv'd a Wound with a Spear in his Paſſage over. *Poplicola*, to reward him this extraordinary piece of Service, gave him ſeveral great Privileges, and appointed a Statue to be erected to his Memory in the Temple of *Vulcan*. *Porſena* held the Siege a long time, and reduc'd the City to grear Straits; but *Poplicola*, now exerciſing his third Conſulſhip, together with his laſt Year's Collegue, drew out his Forces, engag'd the King, overthrew him, and kill'd 5000 of his Men. U. C. 247.

Nevertheleſs, the Siege continu'd, till *Mutius*, a Man of a moſt undaunted Courage, reſolving to attempt the Life of *Porſena*, tho' amidſt his own Soldiers, put on a *Tuſcan* Habit, and uſing that Lan-

guage, came into the Camp, where by a Miſtake he ſtab'd the King's Secretary, who ſat nigh him inſtead of the King himſelf. Being apprehended, and ready to be examin'd, he, like a Perſon more dreadful to others than fearful himſelf, told 'em, *That he was a* Roman, *and knew as well how to ſuffer as to act.* Upon which he couragiouſly thruſt his Right Hand into the Fire, intending to puniſh it for ſo great a Miſtake, all the while beholding *Perſena* with a ſteady and angry Countenance, who ſtruck and amaz'd at the Greatneſs of his Reſolution, diſmis'd him with much Applauſe, and reach'd him his Sword back from his Thorne. *Mutius* taking it with his Left Hand (whence he had the Name of *Scævola*) told the King, *That the Nobleneſs of his Generoſity had more vanquiſh'd him than all the Terrors of his Threats; and that in requital he wou'd reveal a Secret to him, which no Torments ſhou'd ever have extorted from him: That three hundred* Romans *in the Camp were now waiting for his Life: That the firſt Attempt was appointed for him; but now he was extreamly ſatisfy'd that he had ſo happily miſs'd killing a Perſon, whoſe Magnanimity better entitl'd him to the Friendſhip, than the Hatred of the* Roman *Nation.* *Porſena* hearing this, was immediately inclin'd to an Accommodation, not out of Fear of the 300 Men, but in admiration of the *Roman* Courage. *Poplicola* was well pleas'd with the Propoſal, and agreed to make him Arbitrator between *Tarquin* and the People; but *Tarquin* reſolutely refuſs'd to admit of any Judge; much leſs *Porſena*, *who*, as he ſaid, *had promis'd him Aid, and now baſely falſify'd his Word.* *Porſena*, angry at this, immediately made Peace with the *Romans* upon theſe Articles, *That the* Romans *ſhou'd quit thoſe* Tuſcan *Lands, which they had taken from the* Veientes, *reſtore all Priſoners, and receive all their Deſerters.*

For the ratifying this Peace the *Romans* depos'd Twenty Hoſtages, Ten young Men, and as many Vir-

Virgins, among which was *Veleria*, the Daughter of *Poplicola*. All Acts of Hoſtility ceaſing, *Clælia*, a bold *Virago*, and one of the Hoſtages, got from her Keepers, and at the Head of the reſt of the Virgins, ſwam over the River *Tiber*, amidſt the Darts of the Enemies; and being all got home, they preſented themſelves before *Poplicola*; but he fearing the dangerous Conſequences ſuch an Act might occaſion, ſent them all back to *Porſena*; which *Tarquin* underſtanding, laid an Ambuſcade for them and their Convoy, but they were reſcu'd by *Aruns*, *Perſena*'s Son. *Perſena* examining them, was ſo much taken with the extraordinary Courage and good Behaviour of *Clælia*, preſented her with one of his own Horſes ſumptuouſly equip'd, and gave her Power of diſpoſing of a ſet number of the Hoſtages, which ſhe did with much Diſcretion, chuſing out the youngeſt, as being leſs able to bear Injuries and Hardſhips. Then to give a further Teſtimony of his great Reſpects to the *Romans*, beſides other Pieces of Magnificence, he commanded all his Soldiers to leave the Camp with only their Arms, delivering to the *Romans* his Tents well furniſh'd with Proviſions and Riches. On the other ſide the *Romans*, to ſhew their Gratitude, and to preſerve his Memory, erected a Statue for him by the Senate-Houſe; and another to *Clælia*, as *Livy* relates it, which was a *Maid on Horſeback*, in the Street call'd *Via Sacra*; giving likewiſe to *Mutius* a Field beyond the *Tiber*, afterwards call'd *Muti Prata*. Thus ended the *Hetrurian* War, much to *Tarquin*'s Diſſatisfaction; and ſoon after *Herminius* and *Lartius*, who had ſo bravely defended the Bridge, were together choſen *Conſuls*.

IV. A Year or two after the *Sabines* began to be very troubleſome, making Incurſions into the *Roman* Territories. *M. Valerius* being one of the Conſuls, by the Inſtructions of his Brother *Poplicola*, obtain'd *U. C.* 249.

great Honours overthrowing 'em twice, the laſt time killing 13000, with little or no loſs to the *Romans*. Beſides his Triumph, he had the additional Honour of a Houſe built for him at the Publick Charge. The Year following, when *Poplicola* was Conſul the fourth time, the whole Nation of the *Sabines* join'd in Confederacy with the *Latines* againſt *Rome*; but *Appius Clauſus*, an eminent Man among the *Sabines* for Riches, Valour, and Eloquence, being much againſt the War, firſt retarded their Preparations, then after a ſhort time came over to the *Romans* with 5000 Families of his Friends and Dependants. Theſe had a conſiderable quantity of Land, and large Privileges allow'd 'em, beſides their Freedom, eſpecially *Clauſus* himſelf, who was made alſo a Senator; and the *Clauſi*, afterwards call'd *Claudii*, became as great a Family as any in *Rome*. Soon after this, the *Tribes* of the *Roman* State were encreas'd from Four to One and twenty, and one of the Four in the City was call'd *Tribus Claudia*, from the formention'd *Appius Claudius*; and this remarkable Change happen'd in the 250th Year of this City, but upon what Account, and by whoſe Means it was effected, Hiſtorians are very ſilent.

Claudii.

Tribes encreas'd a ſecond time.

The *Sabines* having made all neceſſary Preparations, advanc'd with all the Troops to *Fidenæ*, laying an Ambuſcade of 200 Foot; whereof *Poplicola* having ſome notice by Deſerters, he divided his Forces into three Parts, and taking the advantage of a Miſt, fell upon the Enemy on ſo many ſides, that only the nigh Diſtance of *Fidenæ*, ſav'd 'em from being all cut off; the *Romans* obtaining large Plunder, and *Poplicola* a noble Triumph. Not long after, *Poplicola* having ended his Conſulſhip, dy'd; and the People, as well upon the account of his Poverty, as to ſhew their Reſpect to ſo great and ſerviceable a Perſon, decreed he ſhou'd be bury'd at the Publick Charge, and by a Favour peculiar to that Family alone,

alone, within the City. This was perform'd with an equal Mixture of Pomp and Sorrow; the Women, by a general Conſent, mourning for him a whole Year, as they had before done for *Brutus*. In the ſame Year, *Poſthumius* and *Menenius*, being Conſuls, the *Sabines* once more drawing together a numerous Army, march'd up almoſt to the Walls of *Rome*. As the Conſuls advanc'd towards 'em, *Poſthumius* fell into an Ambuſcade, loſt many of his Men, and narrowly eſcap'd himſelf; which unfortunate Diſadvantage put the Citizens into ſo great a Conſternation, that they ran back with all ſpeed to their Walls, expecting when the Enemy ſhou'd attack the City: But the Enemy making no ſuch Attempt, they march'd out again, reſolving to redeem their loſt Credit; and *Poſthumius* more concern'd than the reſt, behav'd himſelf nobly, and, together with his Collegue, obtain'd a notably Victory, which had been finiſh'd with the entire Ruine of the *Sabines*, had not the Night interpos'd. *U. C.* 251.

For the Greatneſs of this Victory, the Senate decreed *Menenius* a full Triumph; but *Poſthumius*, by reaſon of hi sill Succeſs in the Beginning, had only an inferior one, which the *Romans* call'd *Ovation*, ſo nam'd from the Letter *O*, as it is ſaid, which the Soldiers in way of Joy were wont to eccho at their Return from Victory, whereas in Triumphs they cry'd *Io Triumphe!* Now an *Ovation* differ'd from a *Triumph*, properly ſo call'd, in theſe Particulars; namely, that in an *Ovation*, the General enter'd the City on foot, and not in a Chariot; that he was met only by the Knights and Gentlemen, not by the Senators in their Robes; that he himſelf had only the *Pretexta Toga*, the ordinary Habit of Conſuls and Prætors, and not the Robe interwoven with Gold: And laſtly, That he had not a Scepter in his Hand, but had only Laurel, and a Wreath of Myrtle on his Head. The Year following, *Caſſius* and *Virginius* being Conſuls, the *Sabines* *Ovation.* *Triumph.* *U. C.* 252.

Sabines receiv'd another great Overthrow at *Cures*, 10300 being kill'd, and 4000 taken Priſoners; which Defeat forc'd 'em to beg Peace, and purchaſe it with Corn, Money, and part of their Lands. While *Caſſius* did this good Service againſt the *Sabines*, his Collegue *Virginus* ſubdu'd the *Camarinæans*, who had revolted, and having executed the Ring-leaders, he ſold the reſt, and demoliſh'd the City: And thus ended the Conteſt with the *Sabines* for awhile.

U. C. 254. V. *Tarquin* ſtill reſtleſs and unſatisfy'd, by the Aſſiſtance of *Mamilius Octavius*, his Son-in-law, ſtirr'd up the whole Body of the *Latines* to declare War againſt *Rome*; and moreover, had procur'd *Fidenæ* to revolt. But the Senate prudently declin'd making War with all the *Latines*, well knowing that many of 'em were rather inclin'd to live in Peace; therefore at firſt they block'd up *Fidenæ*, which had receiv'd ſome of *Tarquin*'s Forces. *Tarquin* meeting with no great Succeſs, now endeavour'd to accompliſh his Deſigns a more eaſy way, by fomenting Differences and Quarrels between the rich and poorer Sort of *Rome*; for the effecting of which, he happen'd on a very convenient Opportunity for his Purpoſe. For about this time the Common People, who were burden'd by Uſury, were much diſſatisfy'd with the preſent State of Affairs, eſpecially with the unreaſonable Severity of Creditors, who generally ſeiz'd upon the Body of their Debtors, and us'd 'em worſe than Slaves: *Tarquin* being ſenſible of all this, ſent certain of his Friends with good Quantities of Gold, giving 'em ſome in hand, and promiſing more after the King's Reſtoration, and thereby procur'd a Conſpiracy of many poor Citizens, and diſcontented Slaves. But the whole Matter was ſoon diſcover'd to *Sulpicius*, one of the Conſuls, who after he had return'd a very civil Denial to the *Latin* Ambaſſadors, then preſent about Buſineſs, by a Wile

Wile drew the Conſpirators into the *Forum*; where incompaſſing 'em about, he put 'em all to the Sword.

Theſe dangerous Stirs being thus allay'd for a time, the Conſuls of this and the following Year look'd abroad, and in no long time *Fidenæ* was yielded to *Largius Flavius*. The *Latines* now inrag'd at the Loſs of this Town, began to complain of their principal Men; which Opportunity *Tarquin* and *Mamilius* ſo far improv'd, as to procure all the *Latin* Cities, 24 in number, to declare War againſt the *Romans*; withal engaging them, that none ſhould forſake the Intereſt of the Aſſociates, nor make any ſeparate Peace, which they ſeal'd with dreadful Oaths and Curſes againſt them who ſhou'd break the Confederacy, who were to be held as Enemies by all the reſt. The *Latines* made extraordinary Preparations, as likewiſe did the *Romans*; but the latter cou'd procure no Auxiliaries abroad, therefore were forc'd to rely all upon their Domeſtick Strength, which Neceſſity made the better Sort more couragious and valiant. But in levying Men, to the great Surprize of the Conſuls and Senate, the poorer Sort and Debtors, which were very numerous, refus'd to liſt themſelves, except their Debts were all remitted by a Decree of Senate; nay, ſome began to talk of leaving the City, *ſince they cou'd have no happy Life while they were there.* U. C. 255.

The *Patritians* endeavour'd to appeaſe the Multitude by gentle Words, but all in vain; upon which the *Senate* fell into a ſerious Debate about this weighty Matter. There were ſome for a free Remiſſion of all Debts, as the ſafeſt and ſecureſt Method at that Juncture; others urg'd the dangerous Conſequences of this Condeſcention, adviſing 'em to liſt ſuch as wou'd give in their Names, and ſlight the reſt. Between theſe two Extreams, ſeveral other Methods were propos'd; but at length this Order prevail'd. *That all Suits and Proceſſes concerning Debts ſhould ceaſe till*

till this War was finiſh'd. This Expedient, tho' in ſome meaſure uſeful, had not the intended Effect upon the unruly Minds of the Multitude, therefore the Senate was put upon another. Whereas by the Laws of *Poplicola*, the Conſular Authority was much reſtrain'd and diminiſh'd by the Appeal to the People, ſo that no Man cou'd be oblig'd to go into the War againſt his Will; therefore they found it neceſſary at this time, *as well as upon the account of the Wars abroad, as the Troubles at home*, to create a particular Magiſtrate, from whom ſhou'd lie no Appeal, and who for a ſet time ſhou'd be the ſole Governour. This Supream Officer was call'd *Dictator*. *Largius Flavius* was the firſt that was created by the Senate; and this was the firſt Intermiſſion of the Conſular Power, about ten Years after their firſt Creation, and afterwards prov'd the Ruine of the Popular State, and the bringing in of *Monarchy* a ſecond time.

CHAP. II.

From the Creation of the firſt Dictator, *to the great Retrenchment of the* Conſular Power *by the* Tribunes of the People.

Containing the Space of 5 *Years.*

Dic. i. *U. C.* 255. I. NOW was the Conſular Power for a while laid aſide, and another Officer made, who had more Power than both the Conſuls; ſo nam'd *à dictando*, from dictating or commanding what was to be done. He was alſo call'd *Magiſter Populi*, and *Prætor Maximus*, and was always created in the Night-time by the Senate's Order, and Nomination of the Conſuls without the People; and was generally made, either upon ſome urgent Occaſion of War and Sedition, or in the times of Plagues and Fa-

Famines, or for the Celebration of ſome particular Games or whenever elſe there was need of a ſudden and exttaordinary Command; and this was oftentimes a means of preſerving the *Romans* Commonwealth from Ruine. His Authority was abſolute: He *had Power of Peace and War, to levy Forces, to lead 'em out. to disband 'em, and to act all things according to his Pleaſure, without referring them to the Senate*; and upon his Creation, all other Magiſtrates, except the *Tribunes of the People*, laid down their Offices, and the whole Government was left in his hands. He had 24 Bundles of *Rods* carry'd before him, with as many *Axes*, and he puniſh'd as he pleas'd without any Appeal; hence this Office came to be ſo terrible, that the Edict of a *Dictator* was obſerv'd as the Command of a Deity. But then this extraordinary Power was limited both by Time and Place; for the Office was never to continue above ſix Months; nor was the *Dictator* allow'd to march out of *Italy*, nor ever on Horſeback without leave, to ſhew that the *Roman* Strenght lay in the Infantry. The *Dictator* upon his Creation, always made choice of another Officer, one that had either been *Conſul* or *Prætor*, to aſſiſt him; this Officer was call'd *Magiſter Equitum*, who had chief Command over the Horſe-men, as the *Dictator* had over the *Roman* People. In the *Dictator*'s Abſence, this *Maſter of the Horſe* executed his Place in the Army; at preſent, he commanded the Horſe, yet ſo as to be obedient to the *Dictator*'s Orders, and never to fight either contrary to, or without his Commands. *Magiſter Equitum.*

Largius Flavius, one of the Conſuls for this Year, being, as was ſaid before, made *Dictator*, choſe *Sp. Caſſius* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, who had been Conſul in the Year 252, and immediately appear'd in Publick with his 24 *Axes* and *Rods* before him; which ſoon chang'd the Face of Affairs in the City: Having with theſe and other Enſigns of Power terrify'd

and

and ſtopp'd the Seditious Murmurs of the Multitude, he began the *Cenſus*, after the Pattern of *Servius Tullius*, the ſixth King, according to the *Tribes*, taking the Names and Ages of ſuch as were ceſs'd, and of Children. In a ſhort time, the Fear of loſing Freedom and Eſtates ſo far prevail'd, that 150700 of full Age gave in their Names, which he diſtributed into four Parts, taking one for himſelf, ordering a ſecond of his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and the two remaining to two Perſons commiſſion'd on purpoſe, one of which was to continue in the City for the Defence of it. Affairs thus ſettl'd, he ſent ſome private Miniſters, who dealt privately with ſeveral *Latine* Cities, and procur'd 'em to ſuſpend the War, and make a Truce for one Year, notwithſtanding the great Oppoſitions made by *Tarquin* and *Mamilius*, for whoſe ſakes they undertook the Quarrel. Upon this, *Largius* return'd home with his Army, and before his ſix Months were out, he laid down his Office, and the Conſular Power took place again, no Citizen being puniſh'd either by Death or Baniſhment, or cruelly us'd in all that time; and this Carriage was imitated by his Succeſſors for many Ages; and notwithſtanding the Vaſtneſs of this Authority, it was very rarely abus'd; nor was the Common-wealth any ways prejudic'd by it, till *Sylla*'s time.

When the Truce between the *Romans* and *Latines* was at an end, both Parties prepar'd to take the Field, the former chearfully, and the latter unwillingly. The *Latines* were ſo ſtrong, that the *Romans* thought it convenient to create a *Dictator*, and accordingly *Virginius* the Senior Conſul nominated *Poſthumius* his Collegue, who choſe *Ebutius Helva* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*; and haſtning his Levies, divided his Troops into four Parts, reſerving one to himſelf, aſſigning the ſecond to *Virginius*, the third to *Ebutius*, and the fourth to *Sempronius*, who was to defend the City. Upon Intelligence that the *La-*

Dict. ii. *U. C.* 257.

tines

tines had taken the Field, *Poſthumius* advanc'd with all ſpeed to the Lake *Regillus*, 14 Miles *Eaſt* of *Rome* by *Tuſculum*, where he fortify'd himſelf againſt the Enemy, who as yet were not all united, but expected Aid from the *Volſci*. The *Romans* divided themſelves into three Parts, and were ſo conveniently poſted as to cut off all Proviſions from the *Latine* Camp, deſigning to ſtarve 'em; but the News of the March of the *Volſci* alter'd their Meaſures, making 'em reſolve to engage. The *Roman* Army conſiſted of 24000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, and the Enemy of 40000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe, *Tarquin*'s Son *Titus* commanding the main Body, his Brother *Sextus* the Left Wing, and *Mamilius* the Right: *Poſthumius* ſtood againſt *Titus*, *Ebutius* againſt *Sextus* and *Virginius* againſt *Mamilius*, and ſo began a Bloody Battle. *Florus* ſays that *Poſthumus* caſt one of the Enſigns among the Enemy, that his Men might be the more eager to fall upon 'em and recover it; and that *Ebutius* commanded the Bridles to be taken off the Horſes, that they might charge with the greater Violence and Fury. The Victory at laſt fell on the *Romans* ſide; and the Battel was fought with ſo much Bravery and Courage, that it was reported, that the Gods themſelves were preſent, particularly *Caſtor* and *Pollux* mounted on Milk-white Steeds: The *Latines* loſt *Mamilius* and *Sextus*, and were ſo broken, that ſcarce a fourth Part of 'em eſcap'd; and from the Place of this Victory, *Poſthumius* obtain'd the Surname of *Rhegillenſis*; many others likewiſe gaining great Honour, particularly *Caius Marcius*, afterwards call'd *Coriolanus*.

After the Battel was over, the *Volſci* arriv'd at the Camp, whereof one Party was for attacking the *Romans* now weary; but another Party, willing to ingratiate themſelves with the Conquerors, prevail'd to ſend to the *Dictator*, to let him underſtand, *That they came to his aſſiſtance*. But *Poſthumius* convinc'd 'em of

of their Falſhood by their own Letters which he had intercepted, and giving leave to the Meſſengers to return, whom the Multitude would have pull'd in pieces, reſolv'd to fall on them the next day; but in the Night they abandon'd their Camp and fled. The *Latines*, now in a very bad Condition, ſent in the humbleſt manner imaginable to beg Peace of the *Romans*; and their Ambaſſadors with ſo many Tears and ſubmiſſive Intreaties laid all the Blame on the Nobility, that the Motion of *Largius* prevail'd in their Behalf for the former League to be renew'd. Thus ended all the Wars made upon the *Tarquin* account, which had been carry'd on for 13 Years. As for *Tarquin* himſelf, the only Perſon left of all his Family, now abandon'd by the *Latines*, *Hetrurians* *Sabines*, with the reſt of the neighbouring People, who all refus'd to harbour him, he went into *Campania* to *Ariſtodemus* Prince of *Cuma*, where he ſhortly after dy'd, being about 90 Years of Age, and the laſt King that *Rome* ever ſaw.

U. C. 258. II. Upon the finiſhing of this War, *Poſthumius* laid down his Office, and *Appius Claudius* the *Sabine*, and *Servilius Priſcus* were made Conſuls for the Year following; and now the Courts of Juſtice were again open'd, and Proceſſes againſt Debtors revived. This caus'd great Diſtrubances among the Common People, the *Plebeians* alledging their Inability of paying their Debts upon the account of their Loſſes by the Enemies Incurſions, and theit want of Tillage; which Plea their Creditors likewiſe made uſe of, ſhewing that theſe Loſſes were ſuch as made the remitting of their Debts impoſſible; which occaſion'd many Tumults and Quarrels. The Conſuls endeavour'd to divert theſe threatning Miſchiefs, by making War againſt the *Volſci*, who had lately aſſiſted the *Latines*: but none of the *Plebeians* wou'd liſt themſelves, making grievous Complaints againſt the in-

intolerable Severity of their Creditors, and declaring, *That they had ventur'd their Lives to preſerve the Liberty of the State abroad, and in requital were made Slaves by their Countrymen at home.* Now *Servilius* was willing to comply in ſome meaſure with the Poor, but *Appius* very hotly oppos'd it as the moſt dangerous Remedy in the World; and the Diſagreement of the Conſuls added much to the Common Calamity. However, the Senate at laſt was forc'd to have recourſe to the Popularity of *Servilius*, who with fair Words and Promiſes perſuaded the People into the Field; where, when he had by his good Services deſerv'd a Triumph, the Honour was deny'd him by the Inſinuation of his Collegue *Appius*, who repreſented to the Senate, *That by bearing and complying with the Multitude, he had impair'd the Dignity of his Order.* The People now expecting the Performances of *Servilius*'s Promiſes, where wholly diſappointed by *Appius*'s Contrivances, which doubled their Rage, and made 'em carry all things by open Force, reſcuing their Companions out of the Hands of the Serjeants holding ſecret Cabals, denying ever to touch a Weapon, till their Burdens were remov'd.

Theſe dangerous Stirs put the Senate to a great ſtand. *Appius* ſtill urg'd, *That nothing ought to be granted to the Rabble*; and the better to quell the Diſturbances procur'd a *Dictator* to be created, which moſt ſuppos'd wou'd be himſelf: But the preſent Conſul made choice of *M. Valerius* a popular Man, ſuppoſing that the Terror of the Office alone wou'd perform the Work, and that a Perſon of a mild and moderate Temper wou'd beſt manage it. *Valerius* choſe *Servilius*, the late Conſul, for his *Maſter of the Horſe*; and he minding the Pleaſure of the People more than his own Authority, told 'em, *That if they wou'd freely follow him, not only what they juſtly requir'd concerning their Debts, but other Rewards ſhou'd be granted 'em*; by which means he procur'd ten Legions to be liſted. *Dict.* iii. *U. C.* 259.

With

With these he march'd against the *Volsci*, *Æqui*, and *Sabines*, who were all up in Arms; and having reduc'd 'em, he divided some Lands he had taken from the *Volsci*, among the Soldiers. At his Return he requested the Senate, that his and their Promises might be made good, but was check'd for his too great Compliance with the Multitude; and because he was an old Man above seventy, unfit as he said to contend, and unwilling to shew his utmost Authority, he immediately laid down his Office. This more inflam'd the Common People, who now had their private Consultations, designing to seperate themselves from the *Patritians*; which when the Senate perceiv'd, Order was given to the Consuls not to disband the Army, pretending that the *Sabines* and *Æqui* had new Designs against *Rome*. Now the Soldiers being strictly bound by their Oath, call'd *Sacramentum*, at their first Listing, cou'd not forsake their Standards; but the Consuls having their Camps nigh each other, by the Advice of one *Sicinius Bellulus*, they all removed to one of them; and then taking away the Ensigns and Standards from the Consuls, they retir'd to a Mountain afterwards call'd *Mons Sacer*, three Miles North of *Rome* by the River *Anio*, now call'd *Taverone*.

Upon this News, the whole City was in a strange Consternation and Tumult; insomuch that the *Patritians* fear'd lest Civil Wars shou'd ensue, for the *Plebeians* growing extream high, many of 'em left the Town and flock'd to the Army, tho' the other hinder'd it as much as possible. The Father had great Contests among themselves, some pleading for the Multitude, others urging nothing but downright Force; till the former sort prevail'd to send a Message to the Armies, desiring 'em, *to return home, and declare their Demands*; withal promising 'em, *to forget their Crimes, and to reward their good Services.* But this Message was receiv'd with disdainful Words, and violent

violent Complaints, intermix'd with threatning Language; which the more sensibly afflicted the Fathers, as not knowing which way to procure a Reconciliation, since they cou'd no longer keep the People in the City from going over to the Army. Now was the time for electing of new Consuls at hand, but the Stirs were so violent, that no *Candidates* (so called, because they su'd for the Place in *White Garments*) wou'd stand for the Office, nor any accept of it; till at last the Consuls, by their sole Authority, appointed *Posthumius Cominius*, and *Sp. Cassius*, who had been Consuls before, and were equally in Favour with the Nobility and Commons. *Candidates.* *U. C.* 260.

The Consuls immediately call'd the Senate, and consulted 'em about the Return of the Commons. *Agrippa Menenius*, a very discreet Person, and a great Orator in those Days, urg'd *the great Necessity of a Composure, and a Compliance with the People, since the* Roman *Dominions cou'd neither be encreas'd, nor yet preserv'd without the inferior Sort. Valerius*, the last *Dictator*, seconded him, and upbraided the Senate *for not believing him when he foretold these Distempers; that now they ought to heal the Wound before it was gone too far; that there were several Reasons the* Roman *People had to separate themselves from the better sort; all which had great and plausible Appearances of Justice.* But *Appius*, according to his usual Manner, violently declaim'd against the *Insolence of the Mob, and the Imprudence of the Senate in any sort of Compliances; that if they granted these things when Enemies, which they refus'd when Friends, they wou'd not rest here, but require a Communication of all Honours, and what not? So that at last the whole Power of the State wou'd come into the Hands of the Rabble.* This Speech so pleas'd and transported some of the younger Sort of his Party, that nothing cou'd be determin'd by Reason of the Heats on both sides. This put the Consuls upon dismissing the Senate for that time, admonishing the younger Sort, *to carry themselves more*

modeſtly for the future, or elſe they wou'd perfer a Law to limit a certain Age for Senators; exhorting likewiſe the graver ſort to Concord, letting them know, *That they had a way to end the Controverſy, by referring the Matter to the People, who had a Right to judge of it, as a Caſe of Peace and War.* Upon which, the Senate broke up.

At the next Meeting, the Senate almoſt unanimouſly agreed to treat with the People, tho' *Appius* oppos'd it what he cou'd; and *Menenius* with nine others were commiſſion'd with full Power to compoſe the Differences. At their firſt arrival at the Camp, their Propoſals cou'd not be heard thro' the Inſtigations of two cunning and turbulent Fellows, *Sicinius* and *Lucius Junius*, who out of conceit had likewiſe affected the Name of *Brutus*; but by degrees they were ſo far appeas'd as to liſten to the Commiſſioners. *Menenius* finding the Rage and Violence of the People too great to hearken much to Rhetorick, bethought himſelf of a more effectual way, and ſuch as was more likely to make Impreſſion; therefore laying aſide his former way of Speeches and Oratory, after a ſhort Promiſe or two of diſcharging all Diſabled Debtors, he in a plain and Familiar way began thus: *Once upon a time, the Members and Parts of Man's Body fell out with the Belly, alledging, that they were all forc'd to toil and moil to provide Neceſſaries for the Belly, whilſt it liv'd idle and lazy in the midſt of the Body, and did nothing but enjoy its Pleaſure. Whereupon they reſolv'd that the Hands ſhould not lift the Meat to the Mouth, nor the Mouth receive, nor yet the Teeth chew it; by which means while they endeavour'd to famiſh the Belly, they themſelves and the whole Body were all ſtarv'd for want of the Nouriſhment they receiv'd from it.* This Story, and his home Application of it, had ſo great an Effect upon the People, that they unanimouſly cry'd out, *He ſhall lead 'em home without delay.*

The Multitude were ſo well ſatisfi'd, that they were ready to depart with no other Security than the bare Words of the Commiſſioners; but *Junius Brutus* before

fore mention'd, kept 'em from that, alledging, *That tho' they were gratefully to acknowledge the kind Offers of the Senate, yet ſome Perſons of revengeful Tempers might notwithſtanding reſerve their Anger for a more convenient Opportunity; and that therefore it was neceſſary for the Security of the Commons, to have certain Officers created yearly out of their own Body, whoſe Power ſhou'd be to give Relief to ſuch* Plebeians *as were injur'd, and ſuffer none to defrauded of their Rights.* This was greatly approv'd of by the Multitude, and cloſely inſiſted on and urg'd to *Menenius* and his Fellow-Commiſſioners; who thought it not proper to yield to a matter of that great Conſequence without leave from the Senate, but demanded time to know their Pleaſures. Upon the Debate of this Matter in the Senate-houſe, *Valerius* thought the Favour was to be granted to the Commons; but *Appius* moſt violently oppos'd it, invoking the Gods, and truly foretelling, *what vaſt Troubles and Calamities the granting it wou'd certainly bring upon the Common-wealth*; Yet the Majority, weary'd out with the preſent Misfortunes, and deſiring Peace, gave it in favour of the People, and Commiſſioners were immediately diſpatch'd to 'em with the Reſolution of the Houſe. The Commons, by the Advice of *Menenius*, firſt ſent to have a Religious Confirmation of this Privilege from the Senate, and afterwards in the Aſſembly of the *Curiæ*, or *Curiata Comitia*, elected *J. Brutus* and *Sicinius Bellulus*, to whom they afterwards join'd *C.* and *P. Licinius*, and *Icilius Ruga*, which made five in all.

Tribuni Plebeis.

Theſe Officers were call'd *Tribunes of the People*, either becauſe they were elected by the *Tribes*, or becauſe they were firſt made out of the *Tribunes* or Colonels of the Soldiers. They were firſt Five in number; 37 Years after, Five more were added, and this number of Ten ſo continu'd; and they were always elected by the *Plebeians*, and ever out of their Body, except once, and moſt commonly of the lower ſort, till by a Law made afterwards, they were order'd to be

created out of ſuch of the *Plebeians* as were Senators. They had the Power of *Interpoſing*, and the Deſign of that Power was to relieve the Oppreſſed, and to be a Shield to keep off all Evil and Miſchief. They null'd all ſuch *Decrees* and *Commands* of the Senate and Conſuls as they reckon'd unjuſt, and of all other Magiſtrates, except the *Dictators*; and to ſhew their readineſs to protect the meaneſt, their Doors ſtood open Night and Day to their Complaints. They at firſt had their Seats plac'd before the Doors of the Senate-houſe, tho' afterwards they enter'd in, where examining the Decrees of the Fathers, they either interpos'd by the Words *Veto* or *Vetamus* ſolemnly pronounc'd, or elſe ſign'd 'em with the Letter *T*, which made 'em paſs. They procur'd themſelves to be accounted *Sacroſancti*, ſo as by a Law made they were free from all manner of Compulſion, and were inviolable either by Word or Deed, and ſevere Penalties laid on ſuch as broke it; and leſt the People ſhou'd afterwards repeal this Law, they made all the Citizens take the moſt ſolemn Oath imaginable to preſerve it entire and untouch'd. As for the *Enſigns* of their Office, they had no *Toga Pretexta*, *Lictors* or *Curule Chair*, but only a ſort of a *Beadle*, call'd *Viator*, went before 'em. The want of theſe Attendants, their not entring at the beginning of the Year, and their not laying down their Offices upon the Creation of a *Dictator*, made ſome hold 'em to be no *Magiſtrates*, but rather a Curb and Reſtraint to all others. Notwithſtanding the diſproportionate Greatneſs of theſe *Tribunes* Power, it was conſiderably limited by theſe two things, which they ſcarcely perceiv'd at the beginning: The firſt was their Confinement to the City-Walls, out of which they had no Authority; neither was it lawful for 'em to be abſent from the City a Day, *Dion* ſays not an Hour: The ſecond was their Number, for any one of the Ten had a Negative Vote. and this was the only effectual Means to moderate the Power which they afterwards aſſum'd; the *Pa-*

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tritians generally prevailing with one of the Ten to be of their ſide, which was ſufficient to hinder the Deſigns of all the reſt.

This was the firſt great Retrenchment of the *Conſular Power*, beſides what had been caus'd by *Poplicola* before: And now the Common-wealth was turn'd from an *Ariſtocracy* to a *Democracy*, or at leaſt to a Mixture of both. The Awe which this *Sacroſanct* Magiſtracy had upon moſt People, gave 'em occaſion afterwards to enlarge their Power and Authority, and to become moſt extravagantly Imperious, aſſembling and diſmiſſing the Senate, impriſoning the Conſuls, and the like, as ſhall be more particularly ſhewn afterwards: So that they often prov'd the Cauſe of many dangerous Seditions and Tumults, and were the greateſt Diſturbers of the Peace of the Common-wealth, inſomuch that they were by ſome Authors call'd *Peſtes Reipublicæ*. This remarkable Innovation on the Government hapred in the 260th Year of the City, 46 after the Ruin of the *Babylonian*, and the Beginining of the *Perſian* Empire, and in the third Year of the 71ſt *Olympiad*.

CHAP. III.

From the Creation of the Tribunes of the People, *to the ſecond Intermiſſion of the* Conſular Power *by the* Decemviri.

Containing the Space of 42 Years.

I. THE Commons having got a Confirmation of the Office of *Tribune* from the Senate, obtain'd further, that they might yearly chuſe two out of their own Body, to aſſiſt theſe Officers. Theſe were firſt call'd *Miniſters and Aſſiſtants of the* Tribunes, but afterwards *Ædiles*, *ab Ædibus curandis*, becauſe one part of their Office was to take Care of the Repairing *U. C.* 260. *Ædiles*

the Publick Buildings, Aqueducts and Common-Sewers, especially the Temple of *Ceres*, where all the *Plebiscita* or Ordinances of the Commons were kept, of which they had an Oversight. Besides the Care of the Publick Buildings, they were by the Permission of the *Tribunes* to determine some particular Controversies; to look after such as held more Land than the Laws allow'd 'em; to accuse such Matrons as liv'd scandalously; to punish excessive Usurers, and Extortioners; to restrain Tipling and Gaming-houses, to fine Persons for leud and uncivil Words or Actions; to correct false Weights and Measures; to provide Bread-Corn and Oil in the Time of Famine, and to see that the same was not hoarded up, nor the Markets foreſtall'd; as also to take care that necessary Provisions were sent to the Armies, and the like. About 127 Years after, were added two more out of the *Patritians*, call'd *Ædiles Curules*, who shall be spoken of in their proper Place.

After the Commons had obtain'd these Officers, and what else they desir'd, they readily listed themselves to go against the *Volsci*, under *Posthumius* the Consul. He soon took *Longula* and *Polustia* from 'em, then invested *Corioli*, a strong City, and the Metropolis of the Nation; but the *Antiates* marching to its Relief, he left part of his Army under *T. Largius*, and with the other advanc'd to give the Enemy Battel. *Largius*, in the mean time, attempting to storm the Town, the Besieg'd receiv'd him with so much Courage and Vigour, that the *Romans* were driven back to their Trenches in great Disorder; but *Caius Marcius*, a valiant *Patritian* formerly mention'd, with a small Party, most courageously stood the Enemies Shock, and with a wonderful Bravery forc'd 'em back into the Town, whom he follow'd so close at their Heels, that he went in with 'em: By which the Besieg'd were so terrify'd, that not considering their own Numbers, they fled to the contrary Part of the City, suffering him to let the rest of

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the Army into the Town, which they ſoon poſſeſs'd themſelves of. Which done, *Marcius* wou'd not permit the Soldiers to ſtay for Plunder, but haſtned 'em to join the Conſul with all ſpeed; and whilſt the Armies were approaching, deſir'd leave of *Poſthumius* to engage in the main Body with his Party, where the chief Strength of the Enemy lay; and having obtain'd that Poſt, he behav'd himſelf with that admirable Courage and Conduct, that the Enemy were ſoon overthrown. The Conſul gave him extraordinary Commendations, owning him to be the chief Cauſe of the Victory, and offer'd him a large Share of the Booty before the Diviſion among the Soldiers. But he modeſtly refus'd all but one ſingle Horſe, which gain'd him greater Honour among the Soldiers, and caus'd *Poſthumius* to beſtow the Surname of *Coriolanus* upon him, for his incomparable Valour ſhewn at *Corioli*. The *Volſci* by this Overthrow were forc'd to Submiſſion, and made their Peace. This ſame Year was the League of Confederacy renew'd with the *Latins*, and likewiſe a third *Feria* or Holy-day appointed by the Senate for the Union of the Nobility and Commons, the firſt being for the Conqueſt of *Hetruria* in the fifth King's Reign, and the ſecond for the Baniſhment of *Tarquin*. This Year alſo dy'd *Menenius*, whom the People out of Gratitude bury'd at the Publick Charge, becauſe he dy'd poor, and Money was beſtow'd on his Children. Now likewiſe was the *Cenſus* perform'd, and 110000 Heads were ceſs'd.

II. The Year following, there was a great Famine in the City, occaſion'd chiefly by the want of Tillage during the late Separation. This put the Senate upon ſending to *Sicily*, and ſeveral Parts of *Italy*, to buy Corn; but, notwithſtanding this Care, the common ſort, now extreamly pinch'd with Want, grew very turbulent, laying all the Blame upon the *Patritians*. This Advantage the *Volſci* endeavour'd to improve, but *U. C.* 261.

were diverted by a grievous Plague, which so rag'd among 'em, that *Velitra*, a noble City of that Country, being exhausted of its Inhabitants, they begg'd of the *Romans* to send a Colony thither. Which occasion'd many of the *Romans*, tho' unwillingly, to be sent thither, and also to *Norba*, a *Latin* Town. Upon which the rest were so enrag'd, imagining it a Design to destroy 'em, that they call'd the *Tribunes* into the *Comitium*, where they and the Consuls had a violent Contest; which occasion'd a Law to be made, *That no Man shou'd dare to interrupt the* Tribunes, *when they spoke to the People.* This still bred greater Animosities between the Senate and People; but the Consuls, to divert 'em, and to ease their Wants, offer'd to lead 'em into the Enemies Country; but few or none wou'd list themselves; so that *Marcius Coriolanus* with some *Patritians*, and a few of their *Clients*, made Incursions, and return'd home laden with Booty; the Knowledge of which put the poorer Sort into a fresh Murmuring against the *Tribunes*, who had dissuaded them from the Expedition. So that now the City was almost all in a Flame and Confusion, but more from the Infirmity of the Government, than the Disposition of the People.

These Tumults and Disturbances were considerably appeas'd by the happy Arrival of great Quantities of Corn from *Sicily*, which was bought at a cheap Rate, and half given in by *Gelon* of *Sicily*. Now the *Patritians* considering at what Rates to dispose of the Corn, *Coriolanus*, incens'd at the Behaviour of the Commons, counsell'd 'em *to keep it up at a high Rate, and to shew no Favour, nor give any Incouragement to the Insolence of the* Tribunes *and the Rabble; but wholly to take away the* Tribuneship, *as the only way to remedy the Disorders of the State.* Upon notice of this, the Multitude in a mad Fury wou'd have fall'n upon the Senate, but were stopt by the *Tribunes*, who laid all the Blame upon *Coriolanus*, and sent the *Ædiles* to apprehend him, and

and bring him before the People. The *Ædiles* going to execute their Office, were repuls'd and beaten by the young *Patritians*, who were gather'd about *Coriolanus*. This put in all in a greater Flame than ever, and the whole City tumultuouſly aſſembl'd together, where the *Tribunes* decreed, that *Coriolanus* ſhou'd immediately be caſt down headlong from the *Tarpeian* Rock. The *Ædiles* ſtrait ſeiz'd on him, and the *Patritians* again reſcu'd him, and there was nothing but Tumults and Uproars in all Places: But the Senate, by ſelling of Corn at low Rates, and by good Words and Entreaties, ſo far appeas'd 'em, that the *Tribunes* null'd their former Decree, and ſet him a Day to anſwer for himſelf before the People. The Conſuls finding their Authority was like to be much weaken'd, after long Debates and much Difficulty, procur'd the *Tribunes* to ſue out this Decree from the Senate, which was granted; and the third Market-day after was appointed for his Trial. *Coriolanus* demanded of the *Tribunes* what they wou'd lay to his Charge; who, after ſome Conſultation, told him, *They intended to accuſe him of aiming at Sovereignty and Tyranny*; whereupon he chearfully put himſelf upon Trial, not refuſing the ſevereſt Puniſhment, if they cou'd prove that againſt him.

When the appointed Day was come, all Perſons were fill'd with great Expectations, and a vaſt Concourſe of Country-People early in the Morning had plac'd themſelves in the *Forum*, and the *Tribunes* aſſembl'd the People, ſeparating the *Tribes* from one another with Cords, and ordering them to give their Votes according to their *Tribes*, and not according to their *Centuries*; which Innovation the *Patritians* much complain'd of, but after ſome debate admitted it. *Minucius*, the Conſul, began firſt, *Declaring the great Worth of the Perſon to be try'd, ſignifying that the Senate became Petitioners in his behalf, and deſiring the* Tribunes *that they wou'd keep wholly to their firſt Impeachment, namely, his aiming at Sovereignty*; which they promis'd to do. *Socinius*, one of the

the *Tribunes*, enviously urg'd all that he cou'd imagin wou'd make for his purpose, putting the worst Construction upon all his Actions: But when *Coriolanus* came to speak, his Affairs soon seem'd to be in a more favourable Condition; for his graceful relating all his great Services to the State, his shewing his Scars receiv'd all over his Body, and the Cries and Lamentations of such as he had sav'd in the Wars, made such a powerful Impression upon the People, that they generally cry'd out, *He was to be releas'd.* But *Decius*, another of the *Tribunes*, a cunning and spiteful Fellow, stood up, alledging, *That he wou'd wave all Words and Expressions, and insist on his Actions, which wou'd make good the Charge of Tyranny: There was a certain Law, that all Booty and Plunder gain'd in War, shou'd be appropriated to the Publick Use, and be given into the hand of the* Quæstor, *untouch'd by the General. Now, whereas that Law had ever been look'd upon as inviolable,* Coriolanus *had wilfully broke it: For in the late Incursion into the Territories of* Antium, *where he had got great plenty of Slaves, Cattel, and Provisions, he neither deliver'd these things to the* Quæstor, *nor paid any Money into the Treasury, but divided the Booty among his Friends, which was a manifest Argument that he design'd to enslave his Country; it being the constant Practice of all that effect Tyranny, by such means to procure themselves Instruments for their Purpose. Coriolanus* was strangely surpriz'd at so unexpected a Charge; and the *Consuls* and *Patritians* being likewise utterly to seek for an Answer, the *Tribunes* immediately nam'd perpetual Banishment, and gather'd the Votes of the *Tribes*, where only nine of the one and twenty clear'd him, so he stood condemn'd by the Majority. This was the first Sentence pass'd by the People upon any *Patritian*, and henceforth the *Tribunes* usally *set a Day* to whomsoever they pleas'd; whereby the Power of the Commons was very much enlarg'd, and the Intereſt of the *Patritians* more and more diminish'd.

Coriolanus, accompany'd home with the Sighs and Tears

Tears of a great many, took his Leave of his Mother, Wife, and Children, who all made lamentable Complaints; but he, like a true *Roman*, with ſmall Appearance of Concern, bad 'em bear all chearfully, and departed the City without any thing to bear his Charges, attended only by a few of his *Clients*. Thus he went to *Antium*, and apply'd himſelf to *Tullus Attius*, a Man of great Note among the *Volſci*, of a magnanimous Spirit, and a violent Enemy of the *Romans*, where throwing himſelf at his Feet, he begg'd of him *to revenge his Country's Loſſes by his Death, or his own Wrongs by* Rome's *Deſtruction, which by her unnatural Carriage towards him, had now forfeited all that Duty and Service ſhe might have juſtly expected at his Hands.* *Tullus* moſt readily eſpous'd his Quarrel, and by his Advice ſent many of the *Volſci* to *Rome*, upon pretence of ſeeing ſome ſolemn Games at that time celebrated, but with deſign to make a Breach between the two Nations. Theſe *Volſci* procur'd a Perſon to go to the Conſuls, and accuſe the Strangers of having ſome dangerous Deſign againſt the City, which immediately occaſion'd an Order from the *Conſuls*, *That all Strangers ſhould depart by Sun-ſet*. This Order *Tullus* repreſented to his Country-men as a Breach of the Peace, and ſo aggravated the Matter, that he procur'd 'em to ſend to *Rome*, to demand all the Towns and Territories which the *Romans* had taken from 'em. The Senate receiv'd this Meſſage with great Scorn, telling them, *That if the* Volſci *were the firſt that took up Arms, the* Romans *wou'd be the laſt that ſhou'd lay 'em down.* Upon which Anſwer the *Volſci* made all neceſſary Preparations for a War.

Coriolanus, together with *Tullus*, was made General of the *Volſci*, and accordingly invaded the *Roman* Territories, ravaging and laying waſte all ſuch Lands as belong'd to the *Plebeians*, but not ſuffering thoſe of the Nobility to be injur'd in any part. This rais'd new Commotions between the Nobility and Commons; the former upbraiding the latter with Ingratitude to *U. C.* 268.

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ſo conſiderable and deſerving a Perſon; and the latter charging the other with Treachery to their Country, and ſaying, *It was by their Procurement that he invaded their Dominions.* *Coriolanus* returning with his Men richly laden with Booty, was ſent out ſoon after with the ſole Command of half the Forces, and taking *Circæum*, a *Roman* Colony, he then fell upon the *Latins*, who immediately ſent to *Rome* for Succour; but the Commons Averſeneſs to the Wars, and the approaching End of the preſent Conſuls Office, render'd their Meſſage of no Effect. But *Coriolanus* ſtill proceeded with great Succeſs, taking *Tolerium*, *Laviti*, *Pes*, and *Bola*, all by Storm, plundering them, and making the Inhabitants Priſoners of War. Such as yielded he treated mildly, others he put to the Sword; and the *Volſci* now ſo admir'd his extraordinary Courage and Conduct, that they left their Towns bare, flocking in great Numbers to him, and owning him for their ſole Commander. At *Rome* there was nothing but Confuſion and Deſpair, and all the Peoples Satisfaction was by venting their Rage againſt one another; but ſoon after, when News was brought that *Lavinium* was inveſted, the Commons all cry'd out, *That* Coriolanus *was to be reſtor'd, and his Baniſhment repeal'd.* The Senate utterly refus'd to aſſent to this, either out of deſire to oppoſe the People in all things, or out of Scorn to have his Reſtoration aſcribed to the Commons, or elſe out of a juſt Indignation againſt *Coriolanus*, who was now become an open Enemy to all his Country in general.

Coriolanus underſtanding the Diſſentions of the City, immediately roſe up from before *Lavinium*, and advancing towards *Rome*, encamp'd at *Clulius*'s *Ditch*, five Miles from the City. This ſtruck the *Romans* with ſuch a Terror, that now both Senate and People unaimouſly agreed to ſend Ambaſſadors to him with Propoſals of Reſtoration. The Ambaſſadors behav'd themſelves with all poſſible Reſpect; notwithſtanding

withſtanding which, and their being *Patritians*, and his choiceſt Friends, he received 'em with all the Sternneſs and Severity of a moſt injur'd Perſon; and in a Council of War made Anſwer, *That if they hop'd for Peace, they muſt immediately reſtore all the Towns and Territories taken from the* Volſci; *and make 'em Free of the City as the* Latins *were; and for that he wou'd give 'em thirty Days to conſider of it. And this he ſpoke as he was General of the* Volſci, *and not as he was a* Roman, *ungratefully us'd, and barbarouſly treated by his own Country-men.* This Space of Time he employ'd in ſubduing ſeven great and ſtrong Towns; and at the End of it, another Embaſſy was diſpatch'd to him, declaring, *That they were ſtill* Romans, *and that neither Conſtraint nor Fear ſhould influence their Souls to ſtoop to any thing that is baſe, but deſire him to draw off his Troops, and conſult in common. And that if he thought the* Volſci *were to be gratify'd, they wou'd yield to him, provided they wou'd lay down their Arms. Coriolanus*, a little more moderate, reply'd, *That now he behav'd himſelf not as a General of the* Volſci, *but as a* Roman *Citizen, and deſir'd, that having a Reſpect to Intereſt and Moderation, they wou'd return in three Days with a Grant of his former Demands, or elſe he muſt proceed in his Enterprize.* The Senate being reduc'd to this Extremity, their Courages began to fail 'em, and, as their laſt Remedy, order'd all the *Veſtifices*, *Prieſts*, *Governours* of Religious Houſes, and *Augurs*, all in their proper Ornaments and Habits, to go in ſolemn Proceſſion, and humbly to beg for an Accommodation. But this Pompous Train, with all their earneſt Prayers and Supplications, did not in the leaſt move *Coriolanus*; he ſtill inſiſting, That *they ſhou'd either accept of his Propoſals, or elſe they muſt expect the utmoſt Severity of War and Bloodſhed.*

Upon the Return of the Prieſts, the whole City was full of Tumults, Trembling, and Amazement, the Men running in Diſorder to the Walls, and the Women in Confuſion to the Temples, eſpecially to that of

Jupiter

Jupiter in the *Capitol.* Among which, was *Valeria, Poplicola*'s Sister, who put 'em in mind of going to *Veturia, Coriolanus*'s Mother, with his Wife *Volumnia*, to get them to intercede for their Country. *Veturia* was very ready to undertake so pious a Work, tho' with little hopes of succeeding; and thereupon set forward accompany'd with many of these Ladies, her Daughter-in-law, and her two Grand-children. *Coriolanus* discovering this mournful Company fully resolv'd to give 'em a Denial; but perceiving his Mother among 'em, immediately descended from his Tribunal, and went to meet her; courteously receiving her with his Wife and Children, and carefully listning to her Petition, which she urg'd with all the Skill and Rhetorick she cou'd, from the consideration of the *impending Ruin of his Country, and of the certain Infamy which he wou'd incur if victorious, and the unavoidable Dishonour he wou'd receive, if he were successless in his Attempts.* But this not prevailing, she put him in mind, *How much the Sacred Ties of Nature and Religion, together with her most tender Education of him in her Widowhood, had engag'd him to Obedience, or at least to a Compliance:* Declaring likewise, *That he shou'd not stir one Foot towards the treading down of his Country, without first trampling upon the dead Body of her who brought him into the World.* And in conclusion, with his Wife and Children, cast her self at his Feet, embracing and kissing 'em, which with the lamentable Sighs and Tears of the fair Train, so far mov'd his great Spirit, that lifting 'em up, and embracing 'em, he cry'd, *O Mother, you have gain'd the Victory, most fortunate for my Country, but most destructive to my self*; and accordingly drew off the *Volsci* into their own Country. *Tullus*, who now envy'd his Glory, represented this Act to the *Volsci* as the highest piece of Treason against 'em, and procur'd him to be cut in pieces, scarce allowing him to speak for himself, as *Dionysius* relates it. This was against the Consent of the greatest part of the *Volsci*, who bury'd him honourably,

ably, adorning his Tomb with Arms and Trophies as a great General, and a famous Warriour, and the *Roman* Women themſelves were permitted to mourn for him ten Months, all acknowledging him to be the moſt Valiant and moſt Courageous Man in this Age.

III. Great and many Publick Rejoicings were made at *Rome* for *Coriolanus*'s Retreat, and the Senate decreed to grant the Women what Honours they wou'd demand; but they only deſir'd to have a Chappel dedicated to *Women's Fortune*, built in the ſame Place where they had deliver'd their Country, which was done at the Publick Charge. The Conſuls ſoon after took the Field with a conſiderable Army, but had no occaſion to uſe it; for the *Volſci* and *Æqui* joining Forces, had ſuch violent Conteſts about a General, as they almoſt ruin'd each other. The Year following the new Conſuls, *Aquilius* and *Sicinius*, overthrew one the *Hernici*, and the other the *Volſci*, among whom fell *Tullus* their General. The next Year, the Conſuls, *Virginius* and *Caſſius* took the Field, the *Æqui* falling to the former, as the *Volſci* and *Hernici* did to the latter: But the *Volſci* immediately begg'd Peace, having loſt their beſt Men in the laſt Battle; as ſoon after did the *Hernici*, who now refus'd any longer to contend with the *Romans* for Superiority. *Caſſius* having receiv'd Money and Proviſions from 'em, as Perſons who own'd themſelves conquer'd, made a Truce, but referr'd the Articles to the Senate. But the Fathers, after reſolving to accept of their Alliance, left the Conditions of the League to *Caſſius*'s Diſcretion; who now affecting Sovereignty, and deſiring Popularity, granted 'em equal Privileges with the *Latins*, which together with his Triumph lately obtain'd without performing any thing for it, procur'd him much Envy and Hatred. *U. C.* 266.

Caſſius now grown inſolent by his three Conſulſhips, and his two Triumphs, was reſolv'd to puſh on his Deſign *U. C.* 268.

Deſign of Sovereignty; and the more to gain the Favour of the People, propos'd the Diviſion of ſome late conquer'd Lands among the meaner Sort, together with ſuch Publick Grounds, which thro' the Neglect of the Magiſtrates had been ſeiz'd on by the Rich. Then he recounted to the People his many Services to the State under his three Conſulſhips, inſinuating, *That his extraordinary Care and wiſe Management in thoſe Times, had ſhewn him no leſs than ſole Governour; and that ſince he had already taken Charge of the Common-wealth, it was but juſt and reaſonable he ſhou'd continue to do it.* This Speech, tho' ſo ſtrongly ſavouring of Tyranny, wou'd have been far more ſerviceable to him, had he not brought in the *Latins* and the *Hernici* as Sharers in theſe Lands, which he did to gain their Favours, tho' with the weakning his Intereſt with the Common People. This Propoſal concerning the Lands, met with many Oppoſitions in the Senate, created Fears and Jealouſies among ſome, and caus'd various Diſcourſes among others: But the Commons Forwardneſs, and the Diſturbances that were like to follow, caus'd the Senate, after many Debates, to publiſh *their Reſolution for dividing the Lands among the Commons, withal excluding all new Allies and Aſſociates, as having no Reaſon to expect a Share of what was gain'd before their Times.* This was the Famous *Agrarian* Law, which afterwards occaſion'd ſuch Miſchiefs and Diſturbances; but at preſent the Promiſe of it appeas'd the People, and ruin'd *Caſſius*'s Deſigns: For the Year after his Conſulſhip, the *Quæſtors* ſet a Day to him to anſwer to the Charge of aiming at Tyranny, before the People; where he was accus'd of a Multitude of Crimes of that Nature; and notwithſtanding his premeditated Orations, his many Services, and the Interceſſion of all his Friends and Clients in Mourning, he was condemn'd to be thrown down the *Tarpeian* Rock, and was ſtrait executed accordingly.

Lex Agraria.

Soon

Soon after his Death, the Commons were very urgent for the Execution of the *Agrarian* Law, which *Caſſius* had ſet on foot; but the Senate being reſolv'd to divert it as much as poſſible, caus'd the Conſuls to prepare for an Expedition. The *Plebeians*, engrag'd at their Diſappointment, and the Loſs of a Perſon whom they expected to have been ſo ſerviceable to 'em, refus'd to liſt themſelves, the *Tribunes* always protecting 'em from Puniſhment; but the Name of a *Dictator*, and their ſuſpecting *Appius* to be the Man, ſoon frighted 'em into a Compliance; ſo *Cornelius*, one of the Conſuls, waſted the Territories of the *Veientes*, as *Fabius*, the other, did thoſe of the *Æqui*. Not long after, the Commons refuſing to liſt themſelves, the Conſuls found means to ſit in the *Campus Martius*, out of the City, where the *Tribunes* had no Authority; and there they ſeverely puniſh'd and fin'd ſuch as did not appear, to the great Mortification of the Popular Faction. A third time the Conſuls gain'd their Deſigns, by getting over one of the *Tribunes* to their ſide; a Way they were often forc'd to make uſe of afterwards. In the mean time, they had ſeveral Wars abroad with the *Volſci* and *Æqui*, and ſoon after the *Veientes*; there being many Ravages on both ſides, with ſome Battels, but of no great Note or Conſequence. At home were greater Conteſts and Quarrels between the *Conſuls* and *Tribunes* concerning this *Agrarian* Law, the former always declining the Execution of it, and the latter as conſtantly urging it, but with no other Effect than the blowing up of Diſſentions, and the increaſing of Factions. And this was the troubleſome and unhappy State of *Rome* for about five Years together, as may be ſeen at large in *Dionyſius*.

IV. In the midſt of theſe Troubles, when *Fabius* and *Virginius* were Conſuls, two Years after *Xerxes*'s Expedition into *Greece*, the *Veientes*, by the Aſſiſtance of other of the *Hetrurians*, march'd with a powerful U. C. 274.

Army againſt the *Romans*. *Virginius* oppos'd 'em with another, but was ſo overpower'd by 'em, that he had loſt his Army, had not *Fabius* come from the *Æqui* with timely Succour, and brought him off. Upon the *Roman* Retreat, the *Veientes* made Incurſions almoſt to the Walls of *Rome*, to the great Injury and Diſhonour of the City; and what added more to their Inconveniences, was the Lowneſs of the Treaſury, and the Diſcontents of the People about the *Agrarian* Law. This reduc'd the Senate to very great Extremities, till at laſt the whole Family of the *Fabii*, a noble Stock, generouſly offer'd their Service to be a conſtant Guard to the Frontiers, without any Charge to the Publick, which was gratefully accepted by the Senate. They were in number 306, which, with their Clients and Friends, made up 4000, all commanded by *Marcus*, the laſt Year's Conſul; and to them was afterwards ſent another Company, and *Fabius* the preſent Conſul. Theſe brave Adventurers fortify'd themſelves in a Caſtle, which they call'd *Cremera*, as ſtanding upon a River of the ſame Name, nigh the Frontiers of the *Veientes*, from which they made great Incurſions, and extremely annoy'd the Enemy. The fallowing Year, the *Veientes*, *Volſci*, and *Æqui*, all agreeing upon an Invaſion, great Preparations were made by the Senate; *Æmilius*, one Conſul, led an Army againſt the *Veientes*, with whom was join'd *Bæbius*, as *Pro-Conſul*: *Servilius*, the other Conſul, led another againſt the *Volſci*; and *Furius*, a third, againſt the *Æqui*. The latter ſoon finiſh'd his Work; *Servilius* was forc'd to draw out the War at length; but *Æmilius* engag'd the *Veientes* and their Allies, and overthrew 'em; then falling upon their Camp, forc'd 'em to beg Peace; the Conditions of which being left to his Diſcretion by the Senate, he made a League with 'em upon Terms ſo little advantageous to the *Romans*, that they gain'd him much Hatred, and loſt him the Honour of a Triumph; which ſo enrag'd him,

him, that he immediately disbanded his Troops, endeavouring ſtill more to incenſe the Commons againſt the Senate.

The Year following, when *Horatius* and *Menenius* were Conſuls, eleven Cities of *Hetruria* declar'd againſt the *Veientes* for making Peace without their Conſent, and forc'd 'em to break it. Their Pretence againſt *Rome* was, that the *Fabii* were not drawn off from *Cremera*, upon which they advanc'd towards 'em with a powerful Army; whereupon *Menenius* was order'd againſt *Hetruria*, and *Horatius* againſt the *Volſci*. The *Veientes* not daring to attack this valiant Body of the *Fabii* in their Fortreſs, drew 'em out by a Stratagem, cauſing ſeveral Herds of Cattel, and Flocks of Sheep, to be driven to the neighbouring Places, and laying ſeveral great Parties in Ambuſcade. The Deſign took, and the *Fabian* Adventurers were all unfortunately cut off; tho' at firſt by forming themſelves into a Wedge, they gain'd the top of a Hill, and there tho' wholly encompaſs'd, made an incredible Slaughter of the Enemy. *Livy* ſays, that none of this Family was left, but only one young Lad, from whom afterwards ſprung *Fabius Maximus*; but *Dionyſius* much queſtions this Tradition. The *Veientes*, now Maſters of *Cremera*, advanc'd boldly towards the *Roman* Army, which lay encamp'd not far off, and might have reliev'd the *Fabii*: Then taking Advantage of *Menenius*'s Unskilfulneſs, they poſſeſs'd themſelves of a Hill nigh his Camp; from whence they ſtreighten'd him ſo, that he was forc'd to fight upon very unequal Terms, and his Army was much worſted. The *Romans* quitted their Camp, and fled in ſuch Diſorder, that had the *Veientes* been mindful of any thing but Plunder, they might have deſtroy'd 'em all. The next Day they enter'd the *Roman* Territories, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Hill *Janiculus*, two Miles from *Rome*, to the great Damage and Diſgrace of the City: But *Horatius*, the other Conſul, returning from *U. C.* 276.

the *Volſci*, overthrew 'em twice, and much eas'd the People, but cou'd not wholly diſlodge the Enemy.

The Year following, *Servilius* and *Virginius*, two experienc'd Warriors, were made Conſuls, which gave great Hopes to the People, who were now extremely ſtraiten'd for want of Corn and Trade, which was the more felt by reaſon of the Populouſneſs of the City; for at the next *Cenſe*, there appear'd to be 110000 Men of ripe Age, and three times as many Women, Children, Slaves, Merchants, and Artificers. The People were ready upon every Opportunity to ſeize on the Stores of the Rich; and the Conſuls endeavour'd to appeaſe 'em by buying what Corn they cou'd, and cauſing ſuch as had Corn to expoſe it to Sale, till their Levies and Troops were compleated. When they had rais'd a ſufficient Number of Men, one Night they drew out their Troops from the City, towards the Enemy, and paſſing the River before Day, unexpectedly fell upon 'em, entirely routed 'em, and clear'd the Hill, they retiring in great Diſorder to their own Territories. This Campagne ended, *Menenius*, the laſt Year's Conſul, was call'd to an account, and ſeverely fin'd for ſuffering the *Fabii* to be cut off, whom the People ſo gratefully eſteem'd, that they plac'd the Day of their Defeat among the *Nefaſti*, or unlucky Days, whereon no Work of great conſequence was to be undertaken. The War was ſtill carry'd on, and within two Years after, the *Veientes* were ſo overpower'd, having been overthrown in Battel, together with their Confederates the *Sabines*, and now cloſely hemm'd in, that they begg'd Peace of the *Romans*: And having purchas'd Leave to ſend to the Senate, with a whole Year's Pay for the Conſuls Army, and Money for two Months Proviſion, they obtain'd a Truce for forty Years Thus ended the War with the *Veientes* after ſeven Years Conteſts on both ſides.

V. The

V. The following Year, *Æmilius* and *Vopiſcus* being Conſuls, the old Stirs about the *Agrarian* Law were reviv'd by *Genutius*, one of the *Tribunes*, who boldly ſet a Day to *Manlius* and *Furius*, the laſt Year's Conſuls, to anſwer before the People why they did not divide the Lands. This Quarrel had like to have been fatal to the City, had not *Genutius*'s ſudden Death prevented it; after which, the Sedition might have been quite appeas'd, had the Conſuls born their Succeſs with Moderation, But, making new Levies, they offer'd to force one *Volero*, a turbulent Fellow, and formerly an Officer, to liſt himſelf for a common Soldier, and upon his refuſing, they order'd him to be ſtripp'd and ſcourg'd. But *Volero* fled to the *Tribunes*, who protected him, and violently exclaim'd againſt the Tyranny of the Conſuls. This diverted the People from the Thoughts of Lands, and rais'd new Quarrels concerning Privileges and Liberty. And the Year after, *Volero* getting to be one of the *Tribunes* himſelf, the more to retrench the Conſular Power, propos'd a Law for holding the Aſſemblies of *Tribes* inſtead of that of the *Curiæ*, call'd *Comitia Curiata*; which was ſo contriv'd as to take in greater Numbers, and to give the Commons much more Privilege and Power than formerly. This Propoſal was much urg'd by the *Plebeians*, but ſo ſtrongly oppos'd by the *Patritians*, that *Volero* cou'd not accompliſh his Deſign before the Time was expir'd. *U. C.* 280.

The next Year *Volero*, by his mighty Promiſes, procur'd himſelf to be made *Tribune* a ſecond time; and the Senate, to balance him, got *Appius Claudius*, the Son of *Appius*, now abſent, to be made Conſul, tho' againſt his Will, and with him *Quintius Capitolinus*, who hapned to be of a contrary Temper. *Appius* in a Publick Aſſembly oppos'd the Commons Deſigns ſo hotly and violently, and ſo ſharply reprimanded them for their rude Actions and ſeditious Practices, that the *Tribunes* ſaucily commanded him to depart the Aſſembly;

and upon his Refusal, to be sent to Prison. This Piece of Boldness was so surprizing to the Fathers, that all were ready to rise up in Arms, and the *Lictors* were beaten back that went to lay Hands on him; he being defended by a Company of stout young Men, an unseemly Contest ensu'd, which beginning with Railings and Jostlings, proceeded to Blows and throwing of Stones. But *Quintius*, the other Consul, by his Intreaties, and throwing himself into the middle, and, by the help of the graver Senators, prevented the Tumult from proceeding to any further Inconveniences, which was ended shortly after by the Night. But all Disturbances did not end here; for within a few Days after, the *Tribunes* and the People seiz'd on the *Capitol*, and there fortify'd themselves against the *Patritians*. This might have been of the most dangerous Consequence, had not *Quintius*, by his mild Intreaties and fair Promises, per-
U. C. 282. suaded the *Tribunes* to refer this Law to the Senate's Discretion; which, after many long Debates, permitted it to be put to the *Comitia*, and so it was pass'd.

Comitia Tributa. This was call'd the *Comitia Tributa*, where all the Free *Romans* voted according to their *Tribes*: Whereas in the *Comitia Curiata*, none cou'd vote but Inhabitants of *Rome*; in the *Comitia Centuriata*, the rich Men had the Advantage, by reason of their Number of *Centuries*; but in this *Comitia Tributa*, there was no respect of either of these Qualifications, but all Free *Romans* in or without the City, Poor or Rich, might have Voices. Another Difference between this and the *Curiata Comitia*, was the Place of Assembly; that being ty'd to the *Comitium* in the *Forum Romanum*, and that with the superstitious Observations of Birds call'd *Auspicia*; but this *Tributa* was ty'd to no set Place, being assembled in a great many several, without any Observation of Birds. But the most material Difference between these two *Comitia's*, was this;

this; in this *Curiata* ſuch things were treated of, and confirm'd by the Suffrages of the *Curiæ*, as the *Senate* had firſt decreed; but in the *Tributa*, all things were manag'd without any conſulting of the *Senate*, and were wholly determin'd by the Votes of the *Tribes* gather'd apart. The Matters that were manag'd here, were chiefly, *The chuſing of inferior Magiſtrates, as the* Tribunes, Ædiles, Prieſts, *&c. making of thoſe Laws call'd* Plebiſcita, *or whatſoever ſhould concern the Commons; as alſo the Puniſhment of Miſdemeanours,* but not as to Life and Death; *and the making Peace,* but not War. This new Law gave the Commons ſtill more Power and Authority, and made 'em ſtill more bold and inſolent, to the danger of many a *Patritian*, and to the Ruin of *Appius*, whoſe ill Succeſs againſt the *Volſci* this ſame Year, and his violent oppoſing the *Agrarian* Law the next, made the *Tribunes* ſet him a Day to anſwer for his Life before the People, which he prevented by killing himſelf.

VI. Still the *Romans* had War with the *Æqui*, *Sabines*, and *Volſci*, and had generally the Advantage. From the *Volſci* was taken *Antium*, a conſiderable City on the Sea, 28 Miles *South-Eaſt* of *Rome*, which they made a *Roman* Colony. For nine Years together, none of theſe got any conſiderable Advantage over the *Romans*; tho' in the midſt of theſe Wars, there happen'd a moſt grievous Plague in *Rome*, which ſwept away an innumerable Company of the Slaves, a fourth Part of the Senators, both the Conſuls, and moſt of the *Tribunes*. The *Æqui* and *Volſci* were at laſt much weaken'd, their Territories greatly waſted, and *Lucretius* and *Veturius*, the Conſuls, obtain'd one a *Triumph*, and the other an *Ovation* over 'em. The Year after this, and of the City 292, *Volumnius* and *Camerinus*, the Conſuls, having no Action abroad, employ'd themſelves at home againſt the exorbitant Power of the *Tribunes*, who were now got to that height of Boldneſs as to *U. C.* 284.

aſſert, *That the Citizens ought all to have equal Power in the Government*; they likewiſe made great Complaints, that the *Roman* Laws were yet unwritten, and thereupon propos'd a Law to have ten Men choſen in a lawful Aſſembly, to publiſh Laws, both concerning all Private and Publick Buſineſs. The young *Patritians* furiouſly oppos'd their Deſigns, caſting the meaner ſort like Slaves out of the *Forum*. Among theſe, *Caſo Quintius*, the Son of *Quintius Cincinnatus*, was Principal, a Perſon of great Courage, whom the *Tribunes* reſolv'd to make an Example to all young Men, and therefore ſet him a Day to anſwer for his Life before the People, which caus'd new Stirs and Commotions. *Caſo* being admitted to Bail, fled into *Hetruria*; whereupon his Father ſold almoſt all his Eſtate to reimburſe the Sureties, and then retreating to a ſmall Farm, and a little Cottage beyond the *Tiber*, liv'd retir'd from the World, laboriouſly working for his Living.

The *Tribunes* were much deceiv'd in their Expectations, and the young *Patr tians* ſo hotly oppos'd 'em, that they cou'd act nothing of conſequence this Conſulſhip. The next Year the ſame *Tribunes* being choſen again, they caus'd various Rumours to be ſpread abroad, *That many of the* Senators *and* Patritians *had form'd a Plot, and conſpir'd to murther the* Tribunes, *and ruin all the Authority of the* Plebeians This Contrivance was deſign'd to fright the Senate into a Compliance, but had no other Effects than the cauſing great Tumults and Diſturbances among the Commons. Theſe Troubles were ſo great as to give occaſion to *Herdonius*, a *Sabine*, with 4000 Men, to ſeize on the *Capitol*, calling in the Slaves to their Liberty, which put the whole City into a great Conſternation, all being in a Confuſion. *Valerius* and *Claudius* were then Conſuls, and the *Tribunes* perſuaded the Multitude not to fight, except the *Patritians* wou'd engage by Oath to create Ten Men for making of Laws, and ſuffer the Commons to have equal Privileges with them. *Claudius*

U. C. 293.

dius wou'd have wholly ſlighted their Aſſiſtance, but *Valerius* finding ſuch preſſing neceſſity for 'em, promis'd upon Oath to endeavour to ſatisfie the Deſire of the Commons when the War was ended. Whereupon *Claudius* was appointed to look to the City, and *Valerius* valiantly attack'd the *Capitol* on all ſides, and took it by Storm, but with the Loſs of his Life; the Slaves being puniſh'd according to their Deſerts, and the reſt made Priſoners of War.

This War finiſh'd, the *Tribunes* requir'd *Claudius* to make good the Promiſe of his deceas'd Collegue; but he alledg'd, *He cou'd do nothing himſelf*, and appointed the *Comitia* for the chuſing a new Conſul. The Fathers, the better to ſupport their Intereſt, reſolv'd upon *Quintius Cincinnatus*, Father to *Cæſo*, lately fled; and immediately ſent for him to the City. The Meſſengers found him hard at Plow, only in his Truſs, and a Cap on his Head; but being told of their coming, by a *Viator* that ran before, he preſented himſelf in a better Habit. Being ſaluted by the Name of *Conſul*, inveſted with Purple, honour'd by the *Faſces* and other Enſigns of Magiſtracy, he was deſir'd to begin his Journey; but after a little Pauſe he anſwer'd with Tears, *Then for this Year my poor little Field muſt go unſown, and we ſhall be in danger of Want.* After this, taking his Leave of his Wife, he departed for the City. There *Quintius*, partly by Cunning, and partly by Threats, reſtrain'd the *Tribunes* from preferring the Law, and carry'd himſelf ſo as to be a Terror to the Multitude whenever they refus'd to liſt themſelves, and their greateſt Encourager when their Behaviour was ſuch as deſerv'd it. He perform'd his Office with that Prudence and Juſtice, and likewiſe with that Civility and Courteſy, that the Commons were now of Opinion, that they ſtood in no need of new Laws: Then having finiſh'd his Conſulſhip, he, to the Concern of the whole Senate, betook himſelf to his little Cottage,

tage, and his former laborious course of Life. The Year following, the *Æqui* surpriz'd *Tusculum*, but were worsted by the *Romans*, together with their Friends the *Volsci*, and were forc'd to beg Peace: And in this Year there were found 119000 Free Citizens, according to *Eutropius*.

In the next Consulship, the *Æqui* and *Volsci* were drawn to revolt by *Gracchus Clælius*, a ruling Man among 'em, who by his Industry so hemm'd in and block'd up the *Roman* Army, that it was in great danger of being lost. This put the City into a great Consternation, so that they were glad to have recourse to a *Dictator*, and *Quintius Cincinnatus* was immediately resolv'd upon. The Messengers found him sweating and labouring as before; but he seeing himself made *Dictator* by the 24 *Axes*, the Purple, the Horses, and other Royal *Ensigns*, was so far from being pleas'd with the Honour, that he said with great Concern, *This Year's Crop will also be lost, and my poor Family must be starv'd.* At his entring the City, he encourag'd the People what he cou'd, and chose *Tarquinius* for his *Master of the Horse*; then drawing out his Troops, he fell upon *Clælius*, and forc'd him into his Intrenchments; and besieging him awhile, brought his whole Army to his Mercy, who were forc'd to yield at Discretion. They were all made Prisoners of War; and in token of Servitude, *Quintius* made 'em pass under the *Jugum*, which was two Spears set up, with a third cross, like a Gallows; and likewise made 'em deliver up *Corbio*. He order'd the choicest Plunder for *Rome*, and the rest to be given to his Soldiers, then return'd to the City with a more magnificent Triumph than any before him, having defeated a powerful Army, and plunder'd and fortify'd a City of the Enemy, within fourteen Days after his Creation. He immediately resign'd his Office, and when the Senate and his private Friends wou'd have enrich'd him with Publick Lands, Plunder and Contributions, he utterly

Dict. iv. *U. C.* 295.

Jugum.

terly refus'd all, betaking himſelf again to his Cottage, and his old courſe of Life; which is one great Inſtance of the Abſtinence of the *Romans* at that time. The Year following the *Sabines*, with the *Æqui*, retook *Corbio*, againſt whom, when Levies were to be made, the *Tribunes*, who were all created a fourth time, withſtood them again. Whereupon the Fathers, with weeping Eyes, made uſe of Intreaties, offering to go in their own Perſons if they refus'd; which ſo ſenſibly mov'd the People, *That they promis'd all manner of Obedience, if they wou'd permit the Number of their Tribunes to be increas'd to Ten:* Which the Senate, after ſome Debates, granted; reaſonably ſuppoſing, that their Number would prove the moſt probable means to divide 'em; but then with this *Proviſo*, as *Livy* ſays, *That they ſhould never chuſe the ſame* Tribunes *twice.* This done, Levies were made, and a ſucceſsful War was carried on againſt the *Sabines* and *Æqui*.

Tribunes increas'd. *U. C.* 296.

VII. The Domeſtick Troubles ſeem'd for a while to be allay'd; but in a Year's time, the *Tribunes* uniting all together, made farther Incroachments than ever, and ventur'd ſo far as to aſſemble the Senate by their own proper Authority; moreover requiring Mount *Aventine* for the People to build on, which being a Mile and half in compaſs, was not yet fully inhabited, but Common, and full of Wood. The Senate, after moſt violent Quarrels on both ſides, out of hopes it might be a means to ſuppreſs the *Agrarian* Seditions, granted thoſe Parts that were Common to the People, who ſpent the remaining part of the Year in Building, to the conſiderable Increaſe of the City. This Grant ſatisfy'd the Commons but for a ſhort time; for the next Year their former Complaints were renew'd, and carry'd on with all the violent Heats and Animoſities that cou'd be imagin'd, often proceeding to Blows; till at laſt the *Tribunes* having thrown

U. C. 297.

thrown off all Reſpect and Reverence, inſolently ſet a Day to the Conſuls themſelves to anſwer before the People. But this appear'd ſo odious to many, that they were prevail'd upon to let ſuch a Matter fall, as being moſt dangerous both to themſelves, and the whole State of *Rome*. But at the ſame time they made a firm Reſolution to prefer the *Agrarian* Law, which they agreed to do in the next Aſſembly, and for that Reaſon they appointed a Day apart for the *Comitia*.

At this Aſſembly were gather'd together great Numbers of all Ranks and Qualities; where the *Tribunes* having ſpoken very largely on that Subject, ſeveral of the *Plebeians* related what good Services they had done the Commonwealth, and how little Reward they had for their Pains; among which was *Siccius Denatus*, a Man of admirable Shape and Courage, 58 Years of Age, and well furniſh'd with Military Eloquence for a ſeditious Attempt, who told 'em, *He had ſerv'd his Country in the Wars forty Years, had been an Officer thirty, firſt a Centurion, then a Tribune; had fought one hundred and twenty Battels, in which, by the Force of his ſingle Arm, he had ſav'd many* Patritians *Lives, recover'd ſeveral Standards, perform'd many great and dangerous Exploits, gain'd* 14 *Civick Crowns,* 3 *Mural Crowns, and* 8 *Golden Crowns; beſides* 83 *Golden Chains,* 60 *Golden Bracelets,* 18 *pure Spears, and* 23 *Horſe-Trappings, whereof* 9 *were for killing Enemies challeng'd to ſingle Combats: Moreover he had receiv'd* 45 *Wounds, all before, and none behind, particularly twelve in that Day the* Capitol *was recover'd: Yet notwithſtanding he had fought ſo many Years, ſerv'd in ſo many Expeditions, receiv'd ſo many Wounds, help'd to gain ſo many large Territories for his Country, and had ſpar'd no Coſt or Labour, nor refus'd any Danger or Difficulty; yet neither he, nor any of his Fellow-ſharers in his Dangers, had receiv'd the leaſt Portion of thoſe Lands they had gain'd by their Swords, but that they were poſſeſs'd by others who had*

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not the leaſt Title or Merit to ſhew for 'em; and to ſuch too, whoſe private Attempts, and ſiniſter Ends, better entitl'd 'em to a diſgraceful Puniſhment, than to any Publick Reward. Theſe Particulars he urg'd at large, withal accuſing the *Patritians* of many Deſigns againſt the Privileges of the People, and the Publick Peace of the City; which he did with ſuch Rhetorick and Cunning, that the Commons were almoſt tranſported with the Man. Yet ſtill the *Patritians*, by their wonderful Prudence and cautious Management, tho' with extreme Hazard to themſelves, ſo far defeated their Deſigns, that the Law cou'd not be paſs'd.

Theſe Diſturbances were a little diverted by the Enemies March as far as *Tuſculum*, againſt whom *Siccius* went a Volunteer, where the Conſuls put him upon a moſt deſperate Attempt, which gain'd him the higheſt Honour, inſtead of procuring his Ruin, as they imagin'd it wou'd have done. A notable Victory was gain'd over the *Æqui* by his means, and he reveng'd himſelf upon the Conſuls, by preventing their Triumph this Year, and by getting 'em fin'd the next, when he himſelf was made one of the *Tribunes*. Upon which a Law paſs'd in the *Centuriata Comitia*, That *all Magiſtrates ſhould have Power to puniſh ſuch as violated their Authority*, (which before was only the Privilege of the Conſuls) *but not by any Fine exceeding two Oxen, or thirty Sheep*; which Law was long obſerv'd by the *Romans*. This new Law pleas'd the People, and all now being a little more moderate, the whole Body of *Rome* began to conſider of Ways and Methods to ſettle the Government more firmly, and to prevent all dangerous Feuds for the future; thereupon it was agreed, That Ambaſſadors ſhou'd be ſent to the *Greek* Cities in *Italy*, and to *Athens*, to bring ſuch Laws from thence as were moſt excellent, and moſt convenient for the Good of the Commonwealth. *U. C.* 299.

For this great Deſign, *Poſthumius*, *Sulpicius*, and *Manlius*, were fix'd upon, and Gallies aſſign'd for their uſe,

uſe, ſuitable to the Majeſty of the *Roman* People. The Year following, there happen'd a great Famine, and a moſt grievous Plague, to the great Damage of the City: And the Year after, the Ambaſſadors return'd out of *Greece* with their Laws; preſently after which the *Tribunes* requir'd, that Law-makers might be appointed; and after many grave and prudent Debates, and ſome Oppoſition, it was granted. The Method that they all agreed upon, was, *That Ten Men out of the chief of the Senate, ſhou'd be elected, whoſe Power continuing for a Year, ſhou'd be the ſame with that of Kings and Conſuls, and that without any Appeal; that all other Magiſtracies ſhou'd lay down their Authorities till they might be renew'd according to the Laws.* This was agreed on by the *Senate*, and confirm'd by the People; and the *Conſuls* elect immediately reſigning their Office, were made part of the *Decemvirate*; and alſo the *Tribunes*, *Ædiles*, *Quæſtors*, &c. were diveſted of all Power and Authority. This was a moſt remarkable Change of Government, as great as that from Kings to Conſuls, and was the ſecond ſort of Intermiſſion of the *Conſular Power*, which happen'd in the ſecond Year of the 82d *Olympiad*, 302 Years after the Building of the City, 57 after the Baniſhment of *Tarquin*, 30 after *Xerxes*'s Expedition into *Greece*, and 450 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. IV.

From the Creation of the Decemviri, *to the Third Intermiſſion of the* Conſular Power *by the* Military Tribunes.

Containing the Space of 8 *Years.*

U. C. 302. Decemviri. I. THE Ten Perſons choſen by the *Centuriata Comitia* for this high Office, were *Appius* and *Genutius*, the late Conſuls elect; *Poſthumius*, *Sulpitius*, and *Man-*

Manlius, the three Ambaſſadors; *Sextus* and *Romulius*, former Conſuls; with *Julius*, *Veturius*, and *Horatius*, all Senators. Theſe being inveſted with almoſt abſolute Power, agreed that only one of them at one time ſhou'd have the *Faſces* and other *Conſular Enſigns*, to which they were to ſucceed by turns, for a certain limited time, till the Year came about. And he whoſe turn it was for the time being, aſſembled the Senate, confirm'd the Decrees, and did all other things that belong'd to a chief Magiſtrate to do; the reſt, to avoid Envy and Suſpicion, differ'd little in Habit from private Perſons, having only an *Accenſus*, or a ſort of Beadle going before 'em. Theſe great Men for a time manag'd all things with ſuch Juſtice and Moderation, that the Commonwealth ſeem'd moſt happy under 'em; and *Appius* above the reſt grew exceeding popular, carrying away the chief Praiſe from the whole College, having indeed greater, and more ſecret Deſigns than the reſt. At length, having made a Model out of ſuch Laws as were brought from *Greece* and their own Countries Cuſtoms, they expos'd 'em to the View of all Men, in ten Tables, that any one might make Exceptions. When all were approv'd of, a *Senatus Conſultum* paſs'd *nemine contradicente*, for the ratifying of theſe Laws; and the Queſtion being put to the People in the *Centuriata Comitia*, they were moſt Religiouſly and Ceremoniouſly confirm'd in the Preſence of the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, and *Prieſts*; then they were engraven in Braſs, (ſome ſay Ivory) and plac'd for publick View in the moſt conſpicuous Parts of the *Forum*.

The Year being almoſt expir'd, the *Decemviri* mov'd the Senate for a continuance of this Office; and after great Debate, it was reſolv'd by them, to have the ſame kind of Magiſtracy for the following Year, becauſe ſomething ſeem'd yet wanting to the new Model; but eſpecially becauſe this Office ſuſpended the *Tribuneſhip*, which had been an intolerable Burden to the

the State. A *Comitia* was appointed on purpose, where the most Ancient and Honourable of the Fathers stood for this Office, fearing if it fell into the Hands of turbulent Persons, it might prove very dangerous to the Peace of the Commonwealth. *Appius* had now gain'd the Hearts of the People, and his Behaviour and Actions were extoll'd to the Skies, therefore they labour'd earnestly to retain him in his Place; but he cunningly desir'd to be excus'd the undertaking such a troublesome and ungrateful Work. But at last, overcome as it were by the Intreaties of the People, he plac'd himself among the *Candidates*; where by a crafty Insinuation of his own Services, and a malicious Accusation of the other *Patritians*, as owing him a Spite for his publick Spirit, he not only made way for himself, but for his Friends too. He procur'd to be chosen with himself, *Fabius*, a former Consul; *Cornelius*, *Servilius*, *Minutius*, *Antonius* and *Rabulius*, all *Patritians*; and *Petilius*, *Duellius*, and *Oppius*, all *Plebeians*; whom he took in, the more to ingratiate himself with the Rabble, saying, *It was very just that the Commons shou'd have a Share in that Magistracy which was to govern and command all.*

On the first Day after their Creation, they all made their Appearance with Regal Ensigns, which exceedingly terrify'd the People, especially the *Axes* now added again to the *Rods*, which *Poplicola* had laid aside, to prevent the Dissatisfaction of the Common Sort. The first thing the *Decemviri* did, was their promising each other by Oath, *To be of one Mind; to retain the Power in their own Hands; to be of equal Authority among themselves; and to admit none into their Number; never to make use of* Senatus Consultums *and* Plebiscitums, *but in case of Necessity, acting most things by vertue of their own Power.* These things they observ'd with great exactness; nothing valuing the *Roman* Senate and People; and exercising their Authority with all Licentiousness: By which means

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it came to paſs, that they being both Legiſlators and Judges, many Citizens were unjuſtly put to Death, and others illegally depriv'd of their Eſtates; whoſe Cauſes they all formerly judg'd, that they might make the greater Shew and Pretence of Juſtice. Accuſers were ſuborn'd out of their Dependents, each one affording all Aſſiſtance herein to his Collegue; and ſuch private Perſons as had Suits depending, had no other way to ſecure their Cauſes, but by joining themſelves with the Judges Party, ſo that in a ſhort time moſt of the Citizens were alſo corrupted. And ſuch as were moſt offended at the Extravagancy of the *Decemviri*'s Actions, withdrew themſelves, waiting for a new Creation of Magiſtrates.

One very memorable thing was done by 'em this Year, which was, their adding two Tables of Law to the ten that were made the Year before; whereof one forbad all Marriages between the *Patritians* and *Plebeians*. Theſe two, together with the other ten, always went by the Name of the *Laws of the Twelve Tables*, being much talk'd of by many Authors, and extremely commended by *Cicero*, as containing Matters of the greateſt Policy, and excelling the Libraries of all the Philoſophers. They were divided into three Parts, whereof the firſt contain'd what belong'd to the Religion of the *Romans*; the ſecond what concern'd the Publick, and the third the Rights of private Perſons. Theſe Laws being eſtabliſh'd, it neceſſarily follow'd, that Diſputations and Controverſies wou'd ariſe, which requir'd the Interpretation and Determination of the Learned. Now this Interpretation, or this unwritten Law fram'd by the Learned, was call'd by the common Name of *Jus Civile*, or *Civil Law*. Beſides, certain Caſes were compos'd out of theſe Laws almoſt at the ſame time; which Caſes, leſt the People ſhou'd make 'em at their Pleaſure, were to be certain and ſolemn; and this part of Law was call'd *Actiones Juris*, or *Caſes at Law*: So that almoſt at the ſame

U. C. 303.

The Twelve Tables.

Jus Civile.

Actiones Juris.

ſame time aroſe theſe three ſorts of Law; namely, the *Laws of the Twelve Tables*, call'd barely *Leges*, the *Civil Law*, and the *Caſes at Law*. The reſt of the *Roman* Laws that were either before or after theſe, according to *Pomponius*, were of theſe ſorts; namely, a *Plebiſcitum*, made by the Commons without the Authority of the Fathers; or an *Edict* of a Magiſtrate, call'd *Jus Honorarium*; or an Ordinance of the Senate by their ſole Authority, call'd *Senatus Conſultum*; or, laſtly, that call'd *Principalis Conſtitutio*, which was enacted by the Prince or the Emperor.

Plebiſcitum.
Jus Honorarium.
Senatus Conſultum
Principalis Conſtitutio.

But to return to the *Decemviri*, who now neither regarded the Approbation of Senate nor People; but in a meer Arbitrary Way continu'd themſelves in Power for the Year following, which was the third of the *Decemvirate*. They ſo manag'd the Affairs, that in a ſhort time even the moſt conſiderable of the Citizens, *Patritians* and others, were either murther'd or forc'd to quit the City. At the ſame time the *Sabines* and *Æqui* began to invade the *Roman* and *Latin* Territories, which did not a little ſtartle the *Decemviri*, becauſe they found no means of Reſiſtance without firſt aſſembling the Senate, which had been laid aſide for ſome conſiderable time. At this preſſing Juncture a Senate was at laſt call'd, where *Appius* in a premeditated Oration propounded the Buſineſs of the War: Upon which, *Valerius*, the Grandſon of *Poplicola*, firſt ſtood up, and tho' *Appius* commanded him to forbear, violently exclaim'd againſt the Tyranny of the preſent Uſurpers. He being forc'd to Silence, was ſeconded by *Marcus Horatius*, Grandſon of *Poplicola*'s Collegue, who having expreſs'd great Indignation againſt the *Decemviri*, threaten'd to have him caſt headlong down the *Tarpeian* Rock. All the Senators exclaim'd againſt this, as the higheſt Breach of their Privileges, and an intolerable Piece of Injuſtice: Whereat the Ten, a little repenting this Raſhneſs, began to excuſe themſelves, ſaying, *They hinder'd none of the Liberty of*

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ſpeaking to the matter propounded, but interrupted all ſeditious Orations, which they might do by the Power of Conſuls and Tribunes *receiv'd from the People, not for a Year, or any limited time, but till the great Work of the Laws ſhou'd be finiſh'd; until which they were reſolv'd to act, and wou'd then give an Account of their Adminiſtration.*

The Deſign of Tyranny and Slavery, too openly appear'd under this Veil; whereupon *Claudius*, *Appius*'s Uncle, ſtood up, and very handſomely expos'd the Arbitrary and Tyrannical Carriage of his Nephew and nine Companions; plainly demonſtrating that this War was ſolely occaſion'd by the preſent Diſtempers of the State; withal adviſing the Senators to reſolve nothing till the accuſtom'd Magiſtrates were firſt created. Many of the younger Sort were of Opinion, that the preſent Urgency requir'd the War to be committed to the Management of the *Decemviri*; and others were for creating a *Dictator*, which Opinion had the moſt plauſible Appearance of any: So that the Houſe was very much divided; many, out of fear either of the *Decemviri*, or the Enemies, having alter'd their firſt Intentions. *Appius* took Advantage of theſe Diviſions, and look'd upon his own Parties Votes as a ſufficient Determination; whereupon he immediately commanded the Clerk to draw up a *Senatus Conſultum*, whereby *full Power of levying Forces, and commanding them, was given to the* Decemviri; and ſtraight the *Senate* was diſmiſs'd, to the great Diſſatisfaction of many. This new way of proceeding made *Horatius* and *Valerius* ſtand upon their own Defence, gathering together their Clients and Dependents; and caus'd *Claudius* to go over to the *Sabines*, where he liv'd. And notwithſtanding all the Care and Proviſion of the *Decemviri*, great Multitudes follow'd his Example, leaving their native Seats, with their Wives and Children, and went into a voluntary Exile.

II. The *Decemviri* divided their Army into three

Parts, whereof one continu'd with *Appius* and *Oppius* in the City; and the other two were commanded by their Collegues, one againſt the *Æqui*, and the other againſt the *Sabines*. The *Æqui* forc'd the *Romans* to abandon their Camp, and fly ſhamefully; which caus'd great Joy in *Rome* among the Enemies of the *Decemviri*: So that *Appius* fearing ſome Attempt, wrote to his Collegues in the Army, to deſtroy their known Adverſaries by any means, which was effected upon ſeveral. But at *Rome*, among many others, *Siccius Dentatus*, the *Roman Achilles*, as he was called, blam'd the Commanders as Cowards and unskilful; whereupon *Appius*, to ſecure him with good Words, perſuaded him to go as Lieutenant, or *Legatus*, to the Army, then lying at *Cruſtumeria*, againſt the *Sabines*. *Siccius*, without any Suſpicion or Diſtruſt, undertook the Employment; for the Office of *Legatus* was moſt Sacred and Honourable among the *Romans*, having the Power and Authority of a General, and the Inviolableneſs and Veneration of a Prieſt. Upon his Arrival at the Camp, he was ſent out with a Party of 100 Men, who had ſtrict Orders to murder him; where he ſhew'd ſuch incredible Strength and Valour, that he kill'd fifteen of 'em himſelf, and wounded twice as many, as *Dionyſius* relates it; ſo that at length they were forc'd to throw Darts and Stones at him, keeping ſome diſtance, and by that means effected their Deſign. The Aſſaſſinates gave out that he fell into the Enemies Hands; but the Soldiers eaſily perceiving the Villany, began to grow more mutinous; and the *Decemviri*, to appeaſe 'em, gave *Siccius* a very honourable Burial, which was perform'd with much Ceremony, and an univerſal Sorrow among the Soldiers, who from that time thought upon nothing but a Revolt; which the other Army, lying at *Algedum* againſt the *Æqui*, ſoon after found a fair Opportunity to effect.

Legatus.

It was occaſion'd by one *Virginius*, a *Plebeian*, who

had a Daughter of moſt admirable Beauty, and of as eminent Chaſtity, whom *Appius* ſaw by chance, and was ſo extremely ſmitten with her, that nothing could allay his violent Paſſion. His own Laws had forbidden him marrying her, as being a *Plebeian*; nor cou'd he hope to enjoy her any other way, but by procuring *Claudius*, one of his *Clients*, to challenge her for his Slave; ſo that the Matter being brought before him, he might judge her to be ſo, *Claudius*, according to his Inſtructions, laid Claim to her; and bringing the Matter to a Trial before *Appius*, he affirm'd, *That ſhe was natural Daughter to his Slave, procur'd by* Virginius's *Wife, being barren and now dead, and brought up for her own; a thing tho' known to others as well as himſelf, he had no Opportunity till now to make it appear.* This Pretence was ſo impudent and groundleſs, that it rais'd the Indignation of all unconcern'd Perſons; and *Numitor*, the Maid's Uncle, with *Icilius*, who was contracted to her, ſufficiently prov'd the Falſity of the Aſſertion. But *Appius*, reſolutely bent upon his luſtful and baſe Deſign, would hear no Reaſon, nor mind any Proof; till at laſt the loud Cries and Murmurs of the Multitude prevail'd with him to defer the Matter till her Father could be ſent for from the Camp to defend her Cauſe, for which he would allow but one Day. He immediately wrote to *Algedum* at the Camp to confine *Virginius*; but *Numitor* and *Icilius*'s Brother intercepted the Letters, and *Virginius* pretending the Death of a near Relation, got leave to leave the Camp, and came poſting to the City.

The next Day *Virginius* appear'd at the Place, to the great Surprize of *Appius*, he and his Daughter both in Mourning, accompany'd with ſeveral weeping Matrons, and a numerous Train of Advocates, the whole City crowding into the *Forum*, *Virginius* prov'd the Maid to be his own Daughter; but *Appius*, corrupted by the Greatneſs of his Power, and inflam'd with the Heat of his Luſt, neither conſider'd the juſt

Defence of the Father, nor the bitter Tears of the poor Virgin; but was enrag'd at the Pity of the Standers-by, thinking himſelf a greater Object of Pity, who endured more for her Beauty's ſake than ſhe her ſelf did. He interrupted all that pleaded in her behalf, commanding their Silence, and ſtreight judg'd *Claudius* to be right Lord and Owner of her. Great Outcries and Lamentations being made, as well by others as the Virgin and her Relations, all knowing ſhe was doom'd to the Tyrant's Luſts, *Appius* commanded all to depart, and order'd *Claudius* to take Poſſeſſion of his Slave. *Virginius* finding no Relief, deſir'd he might ſpeak a Word with his Daughter before he parted from her; which being granted, he dragg'd her hanging about him to a Butcher's Stall hard by, and pitifully bewailing her deplorable Condition; where catching a Knife in his Hand, he ſaid, *Daughter, I will ſend thee to our Anceſtors both Free and Unſpotted, for the mercileſs Tyrant will ſuffer thee to be neither here*; and thereupon ſtabb'd her to the Heart: Then caſting his angry Eyes up to the Tribunal, he cry'd out, *Appius, thou Tyrant, with this Blood I doom thee to certain Death!* With the bloody Knife in his Hand, in a great Rage and Fury, he ran through the City, wildly calling upon the People in all Places to regain their Liberty; and coming to the Gate, rode Poſt to the Army, a Company of 400 *Plebeians* following him.

In this Poſture *Virginius* arriv'd at the Camp, with the Knife and his Clothes all bloody; where with all his Rhetorick and pathetick Reaſons he perſuaded 'em *to revolt from the Ten, and redeem their ſinking Country*; ſhewing 'em likewiſe, *That their* Sacramentum *or Military Oath was no ways binding in this caſe, becauſe the Oath ſuppos'd the Commanders to be made according to Law, which the Ten were not, having uſurp'd all the Power and Authority they cou'd pretend to.* The Army, ready enough for ſuch a Deſign, immediately decamp'd, ſome few *Centurions* only remaining, and took their Station on Mount

Mount *Aventine*; and the next Day, fortifying their Camp, choſe ten Captains, whereof one *Oppius* was Chief: And ſoon after came great Parties from the other Army, who were much offended at the Murder of *Siccius*, and join'd them; and this was the ſecond Separation of the Commons. *Appius* in the mean time having endeavour'd by force to ſuppreſs the Diſturbances he had rais'd in the City, was ſo overpower'd by the Parties of *Valerius* and *Horatius* formerly mention'd, that he was forc'd to keep himſelf to his Houſe. *Oppius*, one of the *Decemviri*, aſſembled the Fathers, and urg'd the Puniſhment of all Deſerters; but the Senate was ſo ſenſible of the threatning Dangers and Miſeries of the State, that they were glad to come to any Agreement with the Soldiers: Therefore, to compoſe all Differences, they immediately diſpatch'd Meſſengers to the Army, which had lately remov'd to the *Holy Mount*, as they had once done above 40 Years before, where the People demanded to have the ſame Form of Government as was ſettled before the Creation of the *Decemviri*, which was readily granted 'em, the People all returning home to the City. Thus in leſs than three Year's time, ended the famous *Decemvirate*.

III. *Valerius* and *Horatius* were for their Services made Conſuls for the remaining part of the Year. *U. C.* 304. Theſe preferr'd divers Laws in favour of the Commons, to the great Regret of the *Patritians*; whereof one was, *That ſuch Laws as the Commons enacted in the* Comitia Tributa, *ſhould have the ſame Force as thoſe made in the* Comitia Centuriata; which was a great Advantage to the People. After this, the *Tribunes*, whereof *Virginius* was one, thought it convenient to call the *Decemviri* to an account. *Appius* was committed to Priſon, no Bail being allow'd him; but before his Trial was found dead, but by what means is uncertain. *Oppius*, the next to him in Gullt, was ac-

cus'd; and being condemn'd, dy'd the ſame Day in Priſon by his own Hands. The other Eight baniſh'd themſelves, and *Claudius*, the pretended Maſter of *Virginia*, was driven out after 'em; with which Juſtice the State was ſatisfy'd, and Indemnity granted to all others. Affairs thus ſettled, the Conſuls took the Field againſt the *Æqui*, *Volſci*, and *Sabines*, and ſo ſucceſſfully as to deſerve a Triumph; but the Senate gave 'em a Repulſe for making Laws ſo much in favour of the Commons, and ſo diſadvantageous to the *Patritian* Privileges. The Conſuls appeal'd to the People, and complaining much of the Senate, by the aſſiſtance of the *Tribunes*, procur'd a Law to paſs, *for receiving the Privilege of Triumph from the People.* Thus did the *Plebeian* Power increaſe daily, each Morſel of the *Patritians* Prerogative ſerving only to add to their inſatiable Appetites.

Little was perform'd by the *Romans* for three Years after, beſides the Wars with the *Volſci* and *Æqui*, which were carry'd on with no great Vigour, by reaſon of the frequent Diſputes between the Senate and People; till the Year 308, the Enemy making Ravages and Incurſions to the Walls of *Rome*, put the People upon conſidering the common Safety of the State, and under the Command of *Quintius* and *Furius*, the Conſuls for this Year, they obtain'd a notable Victory over them. This Victory was attended with a remarkable Determination of the *Romans*, between the Inhabitants of *Ardea* and *Aricia*, who had frequent Conteſts about certain Lands, and had left it to *Rome* to be Judge. One *Scaptius*, an old Commoner of 84 Years old, ſtood up, and declar'd, *That theſe very Lands by right belong'd formerly to* Corioli, *and conſequently to the* Romans, *who ought to have 'em.* The Senate were aſham'd to determine the thing this way, becauſe it had been left to them to be Judges; but the People, ready to make uſe of any Advantage, caus'd it to be voted in the *Comitia Tributa*;

buta; where the Lands were adjudged, *To be the Publick Poſſeſſion of the* Roman *People*, to the great Surprize of the *Ardeans* and *Aricians*, who were forc'd to return home as well ſatisfy'd as they cou'd.

IV. The *Tribunes* now grew more and more turbulent, and nothing wou'd ſatisfie the Commons but a Share in the higheſt Offices, and Places of greateſt Truſt; and for that Reaſon they propos'd two Laws, one to permit the Marriages of *Patritians* with *Plebeians*; and the other to make the *Plebeians* capable of the Conſulſhip, which they never were before. The Senators took theſe Propoſals moſt heinouſly, ſeeing their Privileges in danger to be ruin'd, and were reſolv'd to endure the utmoſt Extremities rather than paſs theſe Laws; but finding ſuch violent Commotions in the State, they paſs'd the Law about Marriages, in hopes that wou'd ſatisfie the People, and make 'em not inſiſt upon the other. This appeas'd the Commons for a ſhort ſpace; but ſoon after, when the *Æqui* and *Sabines* made great Ravages in the *Roman* Territories, they took the Advantage of theſe Troubles, and utterly refus'd to liſt themſelves, till they were made likewiſe Partakers of the Conſulſhip, nor cou'd they be prevail'd upon to defer the Matter till the War was over. Upon this the Conſuls were forc'd to hold a private Conference of the Chief of the Senators, where, after ſome Debates, *Claudius*, propos'd an Expedient as the moſt ſeaſonable in this preſſing Conjuncture. He advis'd 'em *by no means to ſuffer the Conſulſhip to come into the Hands of the* Plebeians, *but to create certain Governours in the room of Conſuls, Six or Eight, whereof one half at leaſt ſhou'd be* Patritians: *For by this means they ſhou'd ſeem not to take too much Power to themſelves, and yet retain all their Prerogative.* This Project extremely pleas'd the whole Meeting; and that nothing might ſeem to be deſign'd before-hand, they agreed, That at the next Meet- *U. C.* 309.

Meeting of the Senate, the Conſuls ſhou'd not ask the Senior's Opinion firſt, as the Cuſtom was, but the Younger's, and ſuch as were moſt popular. And *Genutius*, the Conſul's Brother, was fix'd upon to propound this way of Reconciliation, purely as his own private Opinion.

Upon the aſſembling of the Senate, *Canuleius*, the *Tribune*, upbraided the Conſuls with holding of ſecret Meetings, and of managing dangerous Deſigns againſt the State. The Conſuls on the other ſide proteſted their Innocency, and to demonſtrate this more clearly, gave leave to any of the younger ſort to ſpeak firſt, who cou'd not be ſuppos'd to be acquainted with any private Contrivances, and to *Valerius* in particular. *Valerius* advis'd the Fathers to favour the Commons, *who had ſo well deſerv'd both in gaining of Dominions, and getting and preſerving the Liberty of the City*; and urg'd further, *That the City cou'd not be Free till there was an Equality of Right. Horatius*, and others, being next ask'd, ſeconded him, and after that, *Claudius* being deſir'd to ſpeak, the better to conceal his Deſign, according to his old way, broke out into bitter Invectives againſt the Commons, and advis'd, *That the Law might not paſs, neither then nor ever after.* This caus'd ſome Diſturbance, but at laſt *Genutius* was ask'd his Opinion, who, as it was before deſign'd, propounded this Expedient to the Senate and People, *That Six Governours ſhould be choſen with Conſular Authority, three* Patritians, *and three* Plebeians; *and when the time of their Magiſtracy ſhou'd be expir'd, then the Senate and the People might reſolve whether they wou'd have the ſame Office, or that of Conſuls for the Year following.*

This Project was gladly embrac'd both by the Senate and Commons; and leave was given to any *Plebeians* to ſtand for this new Office: Yet ſo fickle were the Minds of the Multitude, and ſo pleas'd with the bare Novelty of the thing, that tho' many *Plebeians* ſtood

ſtood for this Office, they thought none of 'em worthy of that Honour, but beſtow'd it upon eminent *Patritians* only, who appear'd as *Canditates*. This was the third Intermiſſion of the *Conſular Power*, tho' the Authority was equivalent; and likewiſe the third great Change in *Rome*, which happen'd ſcarce eight Years after the ſecond, in the 310th of the City, 65 Years after the Expulſion of the Kings, and 442 before our Saviour Chriſt's Nativity.

CHAP. V.

From the Creation of the Military Tribunes, *to the Burning of* Rome *by the* Gauls; *which almoſt ruin'd the* Roman *Nation.*

Containing the Space of 54 *Years.*

I. THE *Conſuls* being for once more laid aſide, theſe new-mention'd Magiſtrates ſucceeded, being call'd by the Name of *Tribuni Militum*, or *Military Tribunes*, three *Patritians* only being choſen, namely, *Sempronius*, *Atratinus*, *Clælius*, *Siculus*, and *Attilius Longus*. Thus at firſt they were but three in Number, afterwards they were increas'd to four, and at length to ſix. And tho' theſe had the Power and Enſigns of *Conſuls*, yet their Number, together with the mixture of *Plebeians*, which afterwards preſs'd in, made their Privilege and Divinity ſeem ſomething different and inferior: Whence a *Tribune* of the People afterwards, in way of Contempt, call'd them a *Proconſulary Image*; and *Manlius* the *Dictator*, ſhewing that a *Maſter of the Horſe* was inferior to a *Conſul*, compar'd his Power to that of theſe Magiſtrates. Theſe *Military Tribunes* having held their Office almoſt *U. C.* 310. *Tribuni Militum.*

most eight Weeks, were constrain'd to lay it down, for that the *Augurs* found some Flaw in their Election, and *Consuls* were created afresh, *Sempronius* being one: So that in Seventy three Days here was another Change of Government, the old one prevailing over the new.

The following Year they procur'd *Consuls* again to be elected, and not *Military Tribunes*, who were *Geganius* and *Quintius*, who had both been Consuls before.

U. C. 311. In this Year the Consuls finding the Publick Business to increase, to ease themselves, procur'd two new *Censors.* Magistrates to be created, call'd *Censors*, so nam'd because the Business of the *Census*, which had been instituted by *Servius Tullius*, the sixth King of *Rome*, was one great part of their Office. These Magistrates at first made no great Appearance, but in a short time they became Persons of extraordinary Dignity and Power, having all the Ornaments and Ensigns of Consuls, except *Lictors*. At the beginning, they were created for five Years, which Space was call'd *Lustrum*, as was formerly observ'd; but soon after their time was shorten'd to a Year and half; but still they were chosen but once in five Years, the *Census* being no oftner perform'd. Their Power was very large, and their Office very extensive; for tho' at first they only perform'd the *Census*, making an Estimate of Mens Estates, distributing them into their several *Classes* and *Centuries*, taking the Numbers of the Inhabitants, *&c.* yet in a short time they became Publick Inspectors of Mens Lives and Manners, and were therefore frequently call'd *Magistri Morum*; and took upon 'em to degrade *Senators* upon Misdemeanors, to take away Horse and Ring from *Equites* or *Knights*, and to turn *Plebeians* out of their *Tribes*, and put 'em into a Lower, and many other things of the like Nature. The two first *Censors* were *Papirius* and *Sempronius*, both *Patritians*, and the two last Years Consuls; and these high Officers were for nigh 100 Years

Years choſen out of the *Patritians*, and only ſuch as were Eminent and Famous, and had formerly been Conſuls, till the *Plebeians* found the way to this, as they did to all other Offices. Afterwards the *Roman* Colonies had their Magiſtrates, call'd *Sub-Cenſors*, who gave an Account to theſe of the Number of Inhabitants, and their Wealth, which was immediately regiſter'd in the *Cenſors* Books.

The Fathers were extremely ſatisfy'd that they had got theſe Magiſtrates created out of their own Body, and the *Tribunes* eſteeming their Power to be inconſiderable, were willing enough to agree to it. In this ſame Year, the *Ardeans*, as being Allies, ſent to the *Romans* for Succour againſt the *Volſci*, who were call'd in by ſome dangerous Factions among themſelves, and had reduc'd them to great Extremities. The *Romans* were ready to ſerve the Perſons they had ſo lately injur'd about their Lands, and immediately *Geganius*, the Conſul, was ſent with a conſiderable Army againſt the *Volſci*, and he ſoon reliev'd the *Ardeans*, and clear'd the Country of the Enemy. This Victory was very memorable, and the Conſul had a noble Triumph, *Clulius*, the *Volſcian* General, being led before the Chariot. *Ardea* had now been ſo diſpeopled with the Factions, and the late Wars, that they were willing to accept of a *Roman* Colony, which the Senate ſent ſoon after; and to ſhew a further Piece of Generoſity, reſtor'd all the Lands they had before adjudg'd to the Publick Uſe, tho' with the great Complaints of many of the Commons.

II. The Heats of the Commons were ſtill kept alive, but for ſome time were of no dangerous Conſequence, till three Years after *Sp. Mælius*, a rich Knight, encourag'd by theſe Contentions, by his large Bounty to the poorer ſort in time of a great Famine, began to affect Popularity, and by that means

to

to aſpire to the Sovereignty. His Deſigns were ſoon gueſs'd at, and he was accus'd of this by *Minucius*, who had the Care of the Proviſions; which thing in theſe unſettled times ſo ſtartled the Senate, that by Advice of *Quintius* the Conſul, they order'd a *Dictator* to be immediately created, the Tumult hourly increaſing. *Quintius Cincinnatus*, now 80 Years old, was the Perſon, who choſe *Servilius Ahala* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. The *Dictator* preſently ſummon'd *Mælius* to appear, who being well back'd and ſupported by the Mob, refus'd to obey, now breaking out into open Rebellion; whereupon *Ahala* ſet upon him in the *Forum*, and kill'd him, and was juſtify'd by *Quintius*, who commanded his Goods to be ſold, and his Houſe to be demoliſh'd. The *Tribunes*, enrag'd at the Death of their great Friend *Mælius*, procur'd *Military Tribunes* inſtead of *Conſuls* to be created for the following Year, now ſix Years after their firſt Inſtitution, hoping that ſome *Plebeian* might get into the Number of Six, which might give 'em an Opportunity of revenging his Death: But Three only were created, all *Patritians* too, and their Expectation wholly unanſwer'd.

Dic. v. *U. C.* 314.

The following Year Conſuls were created again, and in the ſame Year *Fidenæ*, a *Roman* Colony, revolted to *Tolumnius*, King of the *Veientes*; and to enhance their Crime, by his Inſtigation, they treacherouſly murder'd the Ambaſſadors ſent thither, who dying thus for the Publick, the Senate generouſly appointed Statues to be erected in their Honour. This War in the beginning prov'd ſo dangerous, and threatning to the *Romans*, that they were forc'd to create a *Dictator* to manage it, *Mamercus Æmilius* being the Perſon, who made choice of *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, an eminent Youth of the City, for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. *Æmilius*, the *Dictator*, obtain'd a great Victory over the Enemy, in which Battel *Cornelius Coſſus*, a *Tribune* in the Army, ſlew King *Tolumnius*

Dic. vi. *U. C.* 316.

lumnius with his own Hands, and by that means obtain'd the Honour of the *Opima Spolia*, or *Royal Spoils*, which were the only Spoils of that nature ſince the Reign of *Romulus*. Theſe Spoils were a great Grace to *Æmilius's* Triumph, and a great Honour to *Coſſus*, they being with extraordinary Pomp and Ceremony conſecrated to *Jupiter Feretrius*.

Two Years after this, there happen'd a great Plague in the City, and the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* preſs'd ſo hard upon the *Romans*, that they were forc'd to have recourſe to another *Dictator*; and *Servilius Priſcus* was created, who choſe *Æbutius Elva* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. *Servilius* was ſo ſucceſsful, as not only to drive the Enemy back, but to take the Town of *Fidenæ*, which he did by a Mine. The taking of *Fidenæ* was ſo diſadvantageous to the Enemy, that the *Veientes* ſent to all their Neighbours about for Succour, threatning no leſs than entire Deſtruction to *Rome*. Theſe formidable Preparations put the *Romans* upon creating another *Dictator*, a little above a Year after the laſt, which was *Æmilius*, who had been *Dictator* three Years before, and he choſe *Poſthumius Tubertus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. In a ſhort time the *Romans* found that the *Veientes* cou'd procure no Aid, ſo the *Dictator* had little Employment abroad; but reſolving to do ſomething at home, he caus'd the *Cenſorſhip* to be reduc'd to a Year and a half, which was eight Years after its firſt Inſtitution, and then laid down his Office. The *Cenſors* from this took an Occaſion to remove him out of his *Tribe*, which ſo enrag'd the People, that the next time they procur'd *Military Tribunes* to be brought in again, after there had been Conſuls four Years: And in this Election, notwithſtanding the great Induſtry of the *Tribunes* of the People, they cou'd not get in one of the Commons, which was a great Mortification to the Multitude.

Dic. vii. *U. C.* 318.

Dic. viii. *U. C.* 319.

At

At two Years end, the Senate took Occaſion from the Wars of the *Æqui* and *Volſci* to bring in Conſuls again; and partly for the Enemies great Preparations, and partly for the violent Humour of the *Tribunes* of the People, a *Dictator* was likewiſe created, tho' againſt the Conſuls Conſent. This was *Poſthumius Tubero*, who had *Julius Vopiſcus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, who having finiſh'd this War ſucceſsfully, triumph'd, and laid down his Office. For four Years after this, they had Conſuls, in which ſpace little was acted abroad or at home; then the Commons prevail'd to have *Military Tribunes* again created, which was now the fifth time, and they had four in Number; but ſtill they cou'd not bring about their Deſigns. In this Year *Fidenæ* revolted again, and join'd with the *Veientes*; whereupon three of the *Conſular Tribunes* were ſent againſt the Enemy, and the fourth left to govern the City. When they proceeded to an Engagement, one of the *Tribunes* cry'd *Charge*, another cry'd *Halt*, all three being of a ſeveral Mind, till there was ſuch Confuſion, that the *Romans* betook themſelves to their Heels and fled; which ſufficiently convinc'd them of the Folly of having ſeveral Generals in one Army. The City upon this was put into ſuch a Conſternation, that immediately a *Dictator* was created, which was *Æmilius*, a third time, who choſe *Coſſus*, who had obtain'd the laſt *Opima Spolia*, for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. By the Prudence and Valour of theſe two, the *Veientes* were overthrown, and *Fidenæ* once more taken and plunder'd: Then *Æmilius* returning to *Rome* in Triumph, laid down his Office, after he had held it but 17 Days.

Dic. ix. *U. C.* 322.

Mil. Tribunes *increas'd.*

U. C. 326.

Dic. x. *U. C.* 327.

For two Years after this, *Military Tribunes* continu'd; at the end of which the Senate took Occaſion from the War with the *Volſci*, and the Abſence of thoſe Magiſtrates, to bring in Conſuls again, notwithſtanding the *Tribunes* of the People oppos'd it as much as poſſible. But *Sempronius*, one of the Conſuls, mana-

managing this War very careleſly, the *Tribunes* from thence took Advantage, and *Military Tribunes* were created again the next Year. This was for one Year, at the end of which the Senate procur'd *Conſuls* to be made again, and *Capitolinus*, one of 'em, gain'd Advantage enough over the *Æqui* to procure him an *Ovation*. When this Year was expir'd, there happen'd ſo great a Contention about two *Quæſtors* or Treaſurers, whom the Commons wou'd have created out of their Body, that the State fell into an *Interregnum*. *Papirius* being *Inter-rex*, for a Compoſure, procur'd *Military Tribunes* to be again admitted, and four *Quæſtors* (which was two more than formerly) to be created either out of the *Patritians* or *Plebeians*, as the People ſhou'd think moſt proper in their *Comitia*. Notwithſtanding this, tho' many of the Commons ſtriv'd for it, not one of 'em cou'd get to be either *Military Tribune*, or ſo much as *Quæſtor*, which much incens'd the People. In the ſecond Year after this, *Military Tribunes* ſtill continuing, the Slaves conſpir'd to fire the City, and ſeize on the *Capitol*; but the Plot was timely found out, and the Diſcoverers greatly rewarded. The following Year, the *Æqui* join'd with the People of *Lavicum*, preſs'd hard upon the *Roman* Territories, and the *Conſular Tribunes* quarrelling among themſelves for the Superiority, they got great Advantages; inſomuch that a *Dictator* was created, which was *Servilius Priſcus*, a ſecond time, who choſe his Son *Axilla* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*: *Servilius* ſoon diſpatch'd his Buſineſs, and laid down his Office, after he had kept it but eight Days.

Quæſtors *increas'd.* *U. C.* 333.

Dic. xi. *U. C.* 335.

After this, for four Years ſucceſſively, were *Military Tribunes* inſtead of *Conſuls*, till new Contentions ariſing between the *Patritians* and *Plebeians*, tho' partly from old Heart-burnings, and eſpecially upon the account of the *Agrarian* Law, the State fell again into an *Interregnum*. *Fabius* being *Interrex*, brought in

Conſuls again, which Government continu'd for five Years longer, in which Space of Time not very much was tranſacted either abroad or at home. In the fifth Year, the Commons being croſs'd in their Deſigns of bringing in *Military Tribunes*, beſtir'd themſelves ſo much, as to procure three of the *Quæſtors* to be created out of their own Rank, who were the
Quæſt. Plebeian. firſt *Plebeian Quæſtors* that ever were in *Rome*. The
U. C. *Æqui* and the *Volſci*, ſtrengthen'd by Confederacies,
344. made great Ravages in the *Roman* Dominions; and the Commons refuſing to liſt themſelves according to their uſual Cuſtom, procur'd *Military Tribunes* again, who march'd againſt the Enemy, but with ſo
Dic. xii. little Succeſs, that a *Dictator* was thought neceſſary
U. C. to be created. This was *Cornelius Coſſus*, formerly
345. mention'd, who appointed *Servilius Ahala* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and march'd againſt the Enemy, overthrew 'em in one Battel, waſted their Country, and then return'd. Two Years after, the *Patritians* and *Plebeians* were in ſome meaſure reconcil'd by means of the great Plunder of *Anxur* or *Terracina*, taken from the *Volſci*; but eſpecially by a Decree of the Senate for the publick Pay of the Army with Braſs Money, before which time every Soldier bore his own Charges in the War, as was hinted formerly; and this was the firſt time of the paying of Soldiers in *Rome*, which happen'd in the 347th Year of the City. The taking of *Anxur*, and ſome other Places from the *Volſci*, in a ſhort time brought 'em to a Peace; and now the *Roman* Dominions were conſiderably increas'd.

U. C. III. About the ſame time, War was proclaim'd
347. againſt the *Veientes* with that Reſolution, and carry'd on with that Vigour, that it was evident that one of the two Cities muſt fall. *Veii* was an exceeding large, ſtrong and wealthy City, and had not only been a Rival to *Rome* for many Years, but had always been

ſo

ſo perfidious, that a full Revenge was neceſſary. The *Romans* inveſted the City; but it being ſeated upon a craggy Rock, they ſoon found it wou'd coſt 'em ſeveral Years Siege; ſo that they were conſtrain'd to carry it on both Winter and Summer, the Soldiers lying under Beaſts-skins. At this the *Tribunes* of the People began to repine, as a thing wholly new and dangerous; complaining likewiſe of the Payment of Soldiers as an Innovation, and an unjuſt Artifice to ruin the Commons. And the next Year they got the Number of the *Military Tribunes* to be increas'd from four to ſix, as it was at firſt deſign'd, but ſtill cou'd not procure one *Plebeian* to be elected; and this Number continu'd always for the future. New Stirs daily aroſe, notwithſtanding the great Diverſion by War; ſometimes upon the account of the little Succeſs againſt *Veii*, the *Tribunes* blaming the Commanders, and prohibiting the Taxes which had been laid upon the City ever ſince the Soldiers had receiv'd Pay. About ſix Years after they renew'd their ancient Conteſt about the *Agrarian* Law, and carry'd it on ſo far as to get it promulg'd among themſelves, tho' not in the Senate: And in the ſame Year, after much Trouble and Pains, they procur'd one *Plebeian* to be elected into the *Conſular Tribunes*, *Licinius Calvus* being the Perſon. They extremely applauded themſelves for this, it being the firſt time that the Commons cou'd make themſelves Sharers in the higheſt Offices; and now they moſt readily permitted the Pay of the Army to be gather'd, all Stirs being for a while laid aſide.

Mil. Tribunes increas'd. *U. C.* 348.

Mil. Trib. Pleb. *U. C.* 353.

The Siege of *Veii* was ſtill carry'd on from Year to Year, but with various Succeſs, and under divers Commanders; ſometimes all the Beſiegers Works were deſtroy'd, and the Men driven back with great Loſs by Sallies from the Town: Then the *Falſci*, one of the twelve Nations of *Hetruria*, join'd with the *Veientes*, and very much annoy'd the *Romans*, ſome-

times to the great hazard of their whole Army. Besides, the *Roman* Forces were much diverted by the *Volsci*, who suddenly took *Anxur*; and tho' in no long time it was retaken, yet still it was a great hindrance to the Siege of *Veii*. In the third Year of this Siege, *Furius Camillus*, a Person extraordinary for Courage and Valour, as well as other Excellencies, was made one of the *Censors*. He finding the Wars lay heavy, caus'd the Batchelors to marry the Widows of such as had lost their Lives for their Country; and likewise was the first who oblig'd *Orphans* to pay Taxes. Two Years after he was made one of the *Military Tribunes*, but little fell to his share then. Three Years after that, which was the eighth Year of the Siege, he was a second time made *Military Tribune*, in which time he march'd against the *Falisci* and *Capenates*, both Confederates of the *Veientes*, and great Disturbers of the *Romans* in the Siege, and forc'd them all into their Towns of Defence.

Dic. xiii. *U. C.* 357. The tediousness of the Siege, made the *Romans* resolve to carry it on with the utmost Vigour; and for that reason they created *Camillus* Dictator, and he appointed *Cornelius Scipio* for his *Master of the Horse*. *Camillus* drew out all the Forces he cou'd raise, and made a solemn Vow, that if he took *Veii*, he wou'd dedicate the tenth Part of the Plunder to *Apollo*: Then marching into the Country of the *Falisci*, he overthrew 'em in a great Battel, together with the *Capenates* their Confederates; and after that, he turn'd all his Forces against *Veii*, all People greatly expecting the Event of this important Siege. *Camillus* finding it very hazardous to attempt the storming a Place of that Strength both by Art and Nature, secretly wrought a Mine into it with vast Labour; and finding the City uncapable of Relief, sent to the Senate, who order'd all who had a desire to share in the rich Spoils, immediately to repair to the Army,

Army, which caus'd great Multitudes of all Ranks to go thither. *Camillus* at an appointed Time order'd a Party of Men to enter the Mine, who with eaſe became Maſters of the City, to the great Amazement of the Beſieg'd. Thus was the rich and ſtrong City of *Veii* taken, like a ſecond *Troy*, after ten Years Siege, which enrich'd the *Romans* with vaſt Plunder. As for *Camillus* himſelf, he, tranſported with the Honour of ſubduing the great Rival of *Rome*, triumph'd after a more magnificent manner than ordinary, having his Chariot drawn by four Milk-white Steeds; a thing which the *Romans* look'd upon as ſacred, and peculiar to the King and Father of the Gods, and therefore they were much offended at his Carriage: And indeed no Man either before or ſince him ever aſſum'd ſo much Honour to himſelf.

Soon after the taking of *Veii*, the *Tribunes* of the People, who were ever reſtleſs, propos'd a Law to divide the *Senate* and *People* into two Parts, whereof one ſhould ſtay at *Rome*, and the other remove to *Veii*, and there ſettle; this Separation, as they imagin'd, being a ready means for the enriching of both by the Poſſeſſion of two ſuch conſiderable Cities. The *Plebeians*, now rich as well as numerous, preſs'd hard for this Diviſion; but the *Patritians* judging it would prove the Ruin of the State, as earneſtly oppos'd it, betaking themſelves to *Camillus*, who by prudently employing, and variouſly diverting the Multitude, with much difficulty put it off, but with the Hatred of many of the Commons. But not long after, there happen'd a greater and more apparent Cauſe of their Hatred to him, occaſion'd by his neglecting, either thro' Buſineſs or Forgetfulneſs, while he continu'd *Dictator*, to offer thoſe Tenths of the Spoils of *Veii*, which at the beginning of his Expedition he had vow'd to *Apollo*. When therefore he had laid down his Office, he mov'd the People to reſtore the Tenths of what they had

receiv'd; and the Prieſts alſo reported that all the Sacrifices portended the Anger of the Gods, which muſt be appeas'd by Gifts. So that the Soldiers, who had already ſpent what they had gain'd upon their neceſſary Occaſions, were forc'd upon Oath to reſtore the tenth Part to *Apollo*, which was look'd upon as a very hard Injunction, and caus'd great Murmurings among the People. Now, becauſe there was little Gold in the City, the Ladies freely contributed their Dreſſes and Ornaments, which amounted to eight Talents in Gold. And the Senate in requital of this generous Act, decreed that Women ſhou'd for the future have the Privilege and Honour of Funeral Orations, which before had never been allow'd 'em.

The Commons ſtill grew more turbulent and uneaſy, and moving again for a Separation, the War with the *Faliſci* happily fell out to divert them; for which *Camillus* was made *Military Tribune* a third time. He ſoon inveſted *Falerii*, the chief City, a large and ſtrong Place, 25 Miles almoſt *North-Weſt* of *Rome*, where the School-Maſter of the Town drew out his Boys into the *Roman* Trenches, and offer'd him to betray the Town, by delivering up the Sons of the Nobility and Magiſtrates. *Camillus*'s noble Spirit wou'd not permit him to hearken to ſuch Baſeneſs, but out of an extraordinary Greatneſs of Mind, he immediately order'd the School-Maſter to be ſtript, his Hands ty'd behind him, and in that ignominious Manner to be whipp'd into the Town by his own Boys. The Magiſtrates were ſo affected with the great Generoſity of the *Roman*, that they immediately yielded; and the Senate leaving the Conditions to *Camillus*, he only fin'd them a Sum of Money, and receiv'd 'em, with all the *Faliſci*, into Friendſhip. But the Soldiers, who expected great Plunder, were extremely diſguſted, and from that Inſtant ſought his Ruin. The ſame Year, the Se-

U. C. 360.

nate

nate with much difficulty procur'd Conſuls to be choſen, inſtead of *Military Tribunes*, after an Intermiſſion of fifteen Years. And the Year following, *Conſuls* alſo were choſen again; but in the third Year, *Military Tribunes*, in which time the *Tribunes* of the People mov'd again for a Separation, but were ſo ſharply oppos'd by *Camillus*, that in Revenge they accus'd him of fraudulent Practices in the Plunder of the late Wars. *Camillus* finding the Multitude exaſperated againſt him for ſeveral Reaſons, and that they were now ready to condemn him, left the City; but firſt lifting up his Hands towards the *Capitol*, he pray'd, *That if his Baniſhment were unjuſt, and meerly the Effect of the Rage and Malice of the Multitude, they might ſuddenly repent it; and that it might viſibly appear to the World, how much the* Romans *were oblig'd by his Actions, and ſtood in need of his Preſence.* Thus, like *Achilles*, leaving his Imprecations on the Citizens, he went into Baniſhment, being fin'd 15000 *Aſſes*.

IV. About this ſame time, many Thouſands of the *Gauls* finding their own Country too narrow for 'em, and deſirous of removing, under the Conduct of *Brennus* their King, broke into *Hetruria*, and inveſted *Cluſium*, a City in Alliance with *Rome*. Theſe were the *Galli Senones*, a very numerous and warlike People, inhabiting moſt of that Part of *Italy* which now goes by the Name of *Lombardy*, and which the *Hetrurians* had been Maſters of before them; a People vaſt in Body, rude by Nature, barbarous in Conditions, and wandring as Rovers over many Countries. The Inhabitants of *Cluſium*, much affrighted at their great Numbers, and dreadful Looks, ſent immediately to *Rome*, begging that State to interpoſe by ſending Ambaſſadors and Letters to diſſuade theſe unjuſt Aggreſſors from proceeding in their Enterprize. The Senate, willing to *U. C.* 363.

perform this friendly Part, dispatch'd Ambassadors to the *Gauls*, chusing out three of the Family of the *Fabii*, Persons of the greatest Quality, and the most Honourable in the City, for that Office. The *Gauls* at first receiv'd 'em courteously enough; and coming to a Conference with 'em, the Ambassadors demanded the Reasons of this their present Undertaking, and what Injury the *Clusians* had done them; *Brennus* made Answer somewhat sharply, *That they had much injur'd 'em by refusing to part with some of their Lands, when they had more than they themselves cou'd easily manage; and this was nothing more than what the* Romans *themselves had done to the* Albans, *the* Fidenates, *the* Ardeates, *the* Veientes, *and many other People that they made War with.* These Reflections so enrag'd the Ambassadors, that they immediately stirr'd up the Inhabitants to make a Sally against the Besiegers, they themselves heading 'em. It happen'd that in the midst of the Fight, *Fabius Ambustus*, one of the three, kill'd a *Gaul* of huge Bulk, and was discover'd while he was disarming of him; whereupon *Brennus*, mov'd with a just Indignation, immediately broke up the Siege, and march'd directly for *Rome*.

Brennus, that he might not seem to do any thing meanly or unjustly, sent first to *Rome*, demanding the Ambassadors to be deliver'd up, as having broken the Law of Nations. But Favour so far prevail'd above Equity, that the Matter being referr'd from the Senate to the People, no Satisfaction cou'd be had from either: Nay, further, the Ambassadors themselves were, with three others, created *Military Tribunes* for carrying on the War. The *Gauls* hearing this, in a great Rage hasten'd their March, breathing out nothing but Revenge and Destruction to *Rome*. The Places through which they march'd, were so terrify'd with their Numbers, the Fierceness of their Natures, and their dreadful Preparations of War, that

that they gave their Countries for loſt. But, contrary to their Expectations, they did no Injury as they march'd, crying, *That the* Romans *only were their Enemies, and that they took all others for their Friends.* The *Romans* met 'em at the River *Allia*, 11 Miles from the City, with an Army of 40000 Foot, but moſt of 'em raw and unskilful Men, and, what was more dangerous, under the Conduct of ſeveral Commanders. In this Condition they engag'd the *Gauls*, without either Order or Diſcipline, or ſcarce any Courage, and were miſerably defeated. The left Wing was immediately driven into the River, and there entirely cut off: The right eſcap'd better, tho' with great loſs, ſome dropping into *Rome*; the reſt, as many as eſcap'd, ſtole by Night to *Veii*, giving *Rome* for loſt, and all that was in it for ruin'd. This Day was ever after branded for an unlucky Day by the *Romans*, wherein no Work of note was to be done, and was call'd *Allienſis* in their *Kalendar*. *U. C.* 364.

Never was *Rome* in the like Conſternation, as at the News of the loſs of this Battel, and the ſudden Approach of the Enemy: Nothing but miſerable Howlings and Lamentations were heard on all Parts, ſome leaving the City, others creeping into Holes, Prieſts hiding their Relicks, Women running like diſtracted Perſons with their Children in their Arms, and every one ſhifting for himſelf; ſo that *Rome* became abandon'd, and was left open to the Rage and Fury of the Enemy. For they who reſolv'd to ſtay at *Rome*, quitting the reſt of the City, betook themſelves to the *Capitol*, which they fortify'd, in order to hold out a Siege. Only ſome of the *Pontifices* and *Prieſts*, and the moſt ancient of the *Senators*, ſuch as had been honour'd with ſeveral Conſulſhips and Triumphs, who cou'd not endure to think of leaving the City, put on all the Robes of State, plac'd themſelves in the *Forum* on their Ivory Chairs, reſolving ſince they had liv'd in Honour, to die in State; and in that noble

ble Poſture expected the utmoſt of what would follow.

On the third Day after the Victory, the Eaſineſs of which much amaz'd the *Gauls*, *Brennus* appear'd with all his Forces before the City, and finding the Gates wide open, the Walls unguarded, and all things defenceleſs, began to ſuſpect at firſt ſome Stratagem of the *Romans*; but after a little Conſideration, he enter'd the City, and marching into the *Forum*, he was more ſurpriz'd than ever, to find ſo many Men ſitting all in that remarkable Order, and profound Silence, like ſo many Statues: Their ſplendid Habits and Ornaments, their ſteddy Unconcernedneſs, their Majeſtick Gravity, their Venerable Looks, together with that Air of Greatneſs which appear'd in 'em, made the *Gauls* imagine 'em to be an Aſſembly of the Gods, or at leaſt ſomewhat more than Human, till one bolder than the reſt, ſtroaking *Papirius*'s Beard, was ſtruck by him with his Ivory Staff; whereupon he immediately kill'd the old Man. Upon which began the Slaughter, the reſt of the *Gauls* following his Example, ſet upon the reſt, and kill'd 'em all without Mercy or Diſtinction; and continuing their Rage and Fury, diſpatch'd all that came in their way. In this manner they proceeded, ſacking and plundering the Houſes for many Days together; then ſetting the whole City in Flames, burnt down every Houſe to the Ground.

Thus was the famous City of *Rome* laid all in Aſhes, except the *Capitol*; occaſion'd by the *Romans* manifeſt Breach of Juſtice, and the Laws of Nations. This happen'd 364 Years after it was firſt built, 119 after the Expulſion of the Kings, *Anno Mundi* 3615, in the third Year of the 97th *Olympiad*, 60 Years before the Ruin of the *Perſian* Empire, and the ſetting up of the *Macedonian* by *Alexander the Great*, 388 before our Saviour *CHRIST*'s Nativity.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

From the Burning of Rome *by the* Gauls, *to the War with the* Samnites; *when the* Romans *began much to extend their Conqueſts.*

Containing the Space of 46 Years.

I. ROme now felt the utmoſt Afflictions and Severities of Fire and Sword, and was the true Scene of all kind of Miſery and Deſolation; the Town deſerted by its Inhabitants, and all its ſtately Buildings a Heap of Rubbiſh; no Hopes being left but in the *Capitol*, which was now cloſely beſieg'd by the *Gauls*, and in the baniſh'd *Camillus*, whoſe Preſence was now heartily wiſh'd for. While the *Gauls* lay before the *Capitol*, they ſent out many Parties to forage in all the Country about, who ravag'd and deſtroy'd all the Towns and Villages they arriv'd at; and that with the greateſt Careleſneſs and Security imaginable, conceiving no ſort of Oppoſition, or any manner of Danger. But the greateſt and beſt-order'd Body of their Forces approaching *Ardea*, *Camillus*, who had liv'd there a retir'd Life, began to rouze himſelf from the ſudden Reſentments of his Wrongs, to the moving Conſiderations of the Miſeries of his Country; and by a brave and encouraging Speech, perſuaded all the *Ardeans*, that were able to bear Arms, to fall upon the Enemy in the Night-time; which was done ſo effectually, that ſcarce any were left to carry the News of the Defeat. The Fame of this Victory began to revive the fainting Spirits of the *Romans*, who now found that theſe dreadful People were not invulnerable; and the *U. C.* 364.

Romans

Romans who lay at *Veii*, now finding *Camillus*'s readineſs, immediately ſent to him to be their General; begging of him *to forget all former Injuries, and ſuccour his diſtreſſed Country.* He objected his baniſh'd Condition, and refus'd to act, unleſs by Commiſſion from thoſe in the *Capitol*; whom he conſider'd as the true Body of the ſurviving *Roman* State. This modeſt Anſwer was extremely well taken; but they cou'd not imagine by what means to ſend to the *Capitol*, while the Enemy was in full Poſſeſſion of the City.

But for the undertaking this deſperate Attempt, one *Pontius Cominius* offer'd his Service, which being kindly accepted of, he thus perform'd: Putting on a poor Garment, carrying Corks underneath, he went for *Rome*, and arriv'd at the City when it was dark: The Bridge he cou'd not paſs by reaſon of the Guards, but taking his Clothes and binding 'em about his Head, he ſwam down the *Tiber* upon his Corks; and avoiding thoſe Quarters where he perceiv'd the Enemy to be awake, which he gueſs'd at by the Lights and Noiſe, he got into the City, and from thence to the *Capitol*, climbing up in the ſteepeſt Place with extream Danger and Difficulty. The Beſieg'd were much ſurpriz'd at the Greatneſs of the Attempt, and preſently giving him his Inſtructions, ſent him back the ſame way he came; and this part of his Expedition he perform'd with the ſame good Succeſs that he had done the other, and upon his return, deliver'd to *Camillus* an Order of the Senate to make him *Dictator*. *Camillus* choſe *Valerius Potitius* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and getting together an Army of above 40000 Men, he prepar'd to march againſt the Enemy. In the mean while, at *Rome* ſome of the *Gauls* happen'd to diſcover ſome Foot-ſteps and Prints made by *Pontius* at his climbing the Hill, which being privately told to *Brennus* their King, he order'd a ſelect Party of Men in dead of Night

Dic. xiv. *U. C.* 364.

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to climb up the ſame way, and take the *Capitol* by Surprize. Theſe Men perform'd their Office with great Difficulty, and much time, not any of the Dogs appointed for the Watch perceiving it; nevertheleſs it ſo happen'd that ſome ſacred Geeſe, which were kept by the Temple of *Juno*, by their Gaggling and clapping their Wings, diſcover'd them. The *Romans* every one ſnatching what Weapon he cou'd, did their utmoſt on this ſudden Occaſion; and *Manlius*, a *Patrician* of great Courage, was the firſt that made Head againſt 'em, boldly mounting the Rampier, and preſently tumbling down two of the Enemy at once. Others ſoon came in to his Aſſiſtance, and drove down all the reſt, not a Man eſcaping; and the next Morning the Captain of the Watch was thrown headlong down the Rock, and *Manlius* rewarded as well as Circumſtances wou'd permit.

Henceforwards the Affairs of the *Gauls* were in a worſe Condition, firſt wanting Proviſions, then infected with the Plague, which rag'd much among 'em; but ſtill the Beſieg'd cou'd have no Relief, being reduc'd to a languiſhing and deſponding Condition for want of Proviſions and Neceſſaries. So that after a ſeven Months Siege, they were forc'd to capitulate; and it was agreed, *That the* Romans *paying down* 1000 *Pound weight of Gold, the* Gauls *ſhou'd immediately quit the City and Territories.* This Agreement being confirm'd by Oath, and the Gold brought forth, the *Gauls* out of Covetouſneſs us'd falſe Dealings in the weighing, pulling back the Balance as they thought fit; at which the *Romans* complaining, *Brennus* caſt in his Sword and Belt into the Scales, ſcoffingly crying, *Væ Victis, Woe to the Vanquiſh'd*, which afterwards became a Proverb. Whilſt this Difference laſted, *Camillus* was arriv'd with his Army, and haſtening with a choice Party of Men to the Place where the Gold was a weighing, he came boldly, and took it out of the Scales, telling the *Gauls*, *That it was the Cuſtom of the* Romans

Romans *to deliver their Country with Iron, not with Gold*: Therefore he null'd the Compact, *because made without his Consent, who alone, as being then their* Dictator, *had the sole Power of making Peace.* Upon this therefore a Fight immediately ensu'd, where, after a most bloody Contest, the *Gauls* were entirely routed, and such great Execution done upon 'em in the Pursuit, that all the *Roman* Territories were in a short time clear'd of 'em. Thus was *Rome* unexpectedly taken, and in seven Months as unexpectedly recovered; *Camillus*, for his excellent Services, having a noble Triumph, being now deservedly look'd upon as their second *Romulus*.

U. C. 365. II. After this War was finish'd, the *Tribunes* of the People began to urge once more for the removing to *Veii*, which caus'd the Senate to procure *Camillus* to hold his Office of *Dictator* for a whole Year, which was six Months longer than the usual time. *Camillus* with kind Words and gentle Language appeas'd the Multitude, shewing 'em, *How unworthy and dishonourable a thing it wou'd be for 'em to forsake the venerable Seat of their Ancestors, and all their sacred Rites, which were appropriated to this Place, to inhabit a conquer'd and enslav'd City.* Upon this therefore *Rome* was order'd to be rebuilt with all diligence, and all Persons were employ'd about it; but it was carry'd on with that Haste and Hurry, that the City wanted much of its former Beauty and Regularity; and the Water-courses, formerly laid in the Streets, now ran for the most part under private Houses. When *Camillus*'s second six Months were out, *Military Tribunes* were chosen; and in the same Year the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, and *Hetrurians*, all took up Arms, and invaded the *Roman* Territories. The *Military Tribunes* were soon block'd up by the Enemy, and were brought to such Straits, that the Senate made *Camillus Dictator* a third time, and he chose *Servilius Ahala* for his *Master of the Horse*. *Camillus* overthrew

Dic. xv. *U. C.* 366.

threw both *Æqui* and *Hetrurians*, and forc'd the *Volſci* to yield themſelves, after the War had continu'd for ſeventy Years; for all which he had a third Triumph. Three Years after this, *Camillus* being *Military Tribune*, overcame them again, together with the *Hernici* and *Latines*, the latter of which till now had been faithful ever ſince the Battel at the *Rhegillan* Lake, above a hundred Years before: And from the *Hetrurians* he recover'd two Towns, which they had taken from the Allies of *Rome*. The Year following four *Tribes* were added; namely, the *Stellatine*, the *Norventine*, the *Sabbatine*, and the *Arnian*; which now made the whole Number twenty five. *Tribes increas'd a third time.* U. C. 369.

About this time *Manlius*, who for his great Services in ſaving the *Capitol*, had now got the Surname of *Capitolinus*, began to grow very haughty and ambitious; and by his ingratiating himſelf with the common ſort, his paying their Debts, and his railing at the Nobility, it was apparent that Sovereignty was his Aim. The Numbers that he got over to his Party, together with the War renew'd with the *Volſci*, made the Senate procure a *Dictator* to be created, who was *Cornelius Coſſus*, who made choice of *Quintius Capitolinus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. *Coſſus* ſoon overthrew the Enemies, and returning home in Triumph, call'd *Manlius* to an account, and put him in Priſon. But the Multitude, extremely afflicted at this, put on Mourning Garments, and made ſuch dangerous Diſturbances, that after ſome time he was ſet at liberty, and ſoon after *Coſſus* laid down his Office. But *Manlius* ſtill growing more inſolent, holding private Cabals, and filling the whole City with Faction and Sedition, the Senate remitted his Buſineſs to the Care of the *Military Tribunes*, whereof *Camillus* was one, and a Day was ſet him to anſwer for his Life. The Place of his Trial was right over againſt the *Capitol*, where when he was accus'd, he often pointed to it, and with weeping Eyes and moving Voice let the People know, *what a noble piece of Service he had done there.* This mov'd *Dic.* XVI. U. C. 369.

the

the Multitude to ſuch Pity and Compaſſion, that *Camillus* caus'd the Judges to remove him without the Gate to the *Peteline* Grove; where having no View of the *Capitol*, he was condemn'd to be thrown down the *Tarpeian* Rock, the Place both of his higheſt Honour and greateſt Infamy: And it was decreed that none of the *Manlii* afterwards ſhou'd be call'd *Marcus*. Thus jealous was *Rome* of her Liberty, that no Deſerts cou'd atone for preſuming to offer at that.

U. C. 372. About three Years after, *Camillus* was choſen *Military Tribune* a ſixth time, tho' much againſt his Conſent, and march'd againſt the *Volſci*; where *Lucius*, his Collegue, eager to engage the Enemy when *Camillus* judg'd it dangerous, was permited to fight alone, *Camillus* being left weak in his Bed. *Lucius* was ſoon worſted, and his Army almoſt routed, when *Camillus* rouzing himſelf, was preſently help'd up on Horſeback, where making his way thro' them that fled, he drove furiouſly to oppoſe the Purſuers; which Boldneſs ſo encourag'd the Soldiers, that they all rally'd again, reſolving never to forſake a General ſo famous for his Actions, and ſo venerable for Age: By this the Enemy were ſoon ſtopp'd, and the next Day entirely routed, loſing Bag and Baggage, and the greateſt part of their Men. The Year following, great Stirs were rais'd in the City about the Creditors and Debtors, which gave an Opportunity to the Inhabitants of *Præneste*, a Town of *Latium*, with its Dependents, to make Incurſions and Devaſtations to the Walls of *Rome*, to the great Danger and Damage of the City. This, and the Troubles at home, caus'd the Senate to create a *Dic.* xvii. *Dictator*, which was *Quintius Cincinnatus*, who appointed *Sempronius Atratinus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*; and *U. C.* 373. he was ſo ſucceſsful againſt them, that he overthrew 'em, took the eight Towns that were their Dependents by Storm, and *Præneste* it ſelf by Surrender. Then returning in Triumph with the Statue of *Jupiter Imperator*, which he put into the *Capitol*, he laid down his Office, after keeping of it but twenty Days.

Two

Two Years after this, a dangerous Conteſt happen'd between the *Patritians* and *Tribunes* of the People, occaſion'd by *Fabius Ambuſtus*, a *Tribune*, who had marry'd one Daughter to a *Patritian*, and the other to a *Plebeian*: The latter being very much concern'd at her Husband's want of equal Honour, *Fabius* told her, *That he wou'd ſo manage Affairs, that her Houſe ſhou'd ſhortly be of the ſame Dignity as her Siſters.* From that time therefore he conſulted with *Licinius Stolo* her Husband, and *L. Seſtius*, about preferring a Law for making one Conſul out of the Commons. Theſe two being made *Tribunes* of the People, labour'd ſo violently about this Law, and the Conteſts were carry'd with ſuch wonderful Heats and Animoſities on both ſides, that from the Year 377 to 382, which was five Years, no Supreme Magiſtrates were choſen at all, nor any other but *Tribunes* and *Ædiles*, who kept their Places all that time. And in all this unhappy Space there was little better than *Anarchy* and Confuſion in *Rome*, till the Year 382, they procur'd Military *Tribunes* to be choſen; but ſtill the Conteſts were kept up on both ſides; when two Years after, *Camillus* was made *Dictator* a fourth time, but much againſt the Conſent of the People. He choſe *Æmilius Mamercinus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and with much difficulty brought both Parties to a better and more moderate Temper; but finding the Multitude ſo very ſtubborn and reſolute in their Deſigns, withal threatning to fine him if he comply'd not, he ſoon laid down his Office. Upon this another *Dictator* was immediately created, which was one *Manlius Capitolinus*, who choſe *Licinius Stolo* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and he was the firſt *Plebeian* that ever obtain'd this Honour. *Stolo*, who had been the great Occaſion of theſe Diſturbances, now took an Occaſion to prefer a Law that no Man ſhou'd poſſeſs above 500 Acres of Land, which was very diſadvantageous to the *Patritians*, and more to himſelf; for ſoon after, he was found to have above that

U. C. 375.

Di. xviii. *U. C.* 384.

Dic. xix. *U. C.* 385.

Proportion, and ſo was puniſh'd by vertue of his own Conſtitution.

III. In the midſt of theſe violent Contentions about the *Conſulſhip*, News was brought to *Rome*, that many Thouſands of the *Gauls* were marching from the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Rome*. This put the City into a great Fright, and all began to lay aſide their private Differences, and to think of nothing but of the common Safety; for they had fear'd the *Gauls* ſo much, that a Law was made, *That Prieſts ſhou'd be excus'd from all Wars, unleſs in an Invaſion from the* Gauls: All unanimouſly agreed to make *Camillus Dictator* a fifth time, now near 80 Years old, who refus'd not the Employment in this dangerous Juncture, but preſently choſe *Quinctius Cincinnatus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. *Camillus* conſider'd that the Force of the *Gauls* lay chiefly in their Swords, with which they laid about 'em in a rude and unskilful manner: Therefore he furniſh'd his Men with light Iron Helmets, and bound their wooden Targets about with Braſs, teaching them how to fence and receive the Enemies Blows without hurt. By this means he render'd the Swords of the *Gauls* ſo unſerviceable, that giving them Battel at the River *Anio*, he eaſily overthrew 'em, which happen'd 23 Years after they had deſtroy'd the City; and after this Defeat, the *Romans* now began to deſpiſe the *Gauls* as much as they had fear'd 'em before. Soon after this *Camillus* in his return homewards had *Velitræ* ſurrender'd to him without any Reſiſtance.

Dic. XX. *U. C.* 387.

But *Camillus*'s greateſt Contention, and which was hardeſt to be manag'd, was with the People, who now returning home full of Victory and Succeſs, violently inſiſted again to have one of the *Conſuls* choſen out of their own Body. The Senate ſtrongly oppos'd it, and would not ſuffer *Camillus* to lay down his *Dictatorſhip*, thinking that under the Shelter of his great Name, and greater Authority, they ſhou'd be the better

better able to contend for the Power of the Nobility. But when *Camillus* was ſitting upon the Tribunal, diſpatching Publick Affairs, an Officer ſent by the *Tribunes* of the People commanded him to riſe and follow him, laying his Hand upon him as ready to ſeize him: Upon which ſuch a Noiſe and Tumult follow'd in the Aſſembly, as was never before known in *Rome*: Some that were about *Camillus*, thruſting the People from the Bench, and the Multitude below crying out, *Pull him down, Pull him down!* Still he wou'd not lay down his Office, but taking the Senators along with him, he went to the Senate-Houſe, where great Conteſts aroſe, by reaſon of contrary Opinions; but at laſt the moſt popular Party prevail'd, and a Law was made, *That one of the Conſuls for the future might be choſen out of the* Plebeians; and this happen'd 143 Years after their firſt Creation, and 24 after the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. From this time forwards the *Military Tribunes* were for ever laid aſide, now 78 Years ſince their firſt Creation, after 49 Courſes of that Office, and 15 from the *Conſulſhip* to that, and from that to the *Conſulſhip*. Now the People were reconcil'd to the Senate, and a Temple was preſently built and dedicated to *Concord*, according as *Camillus* had vow'd; and the *Patritians* deſiring a *Prætor* to be created out of their Body for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the City, it was immediately granted 'em.

U. C. 388. *Conſul Pleb.* *Military Tribunes* put down. *Prætor.*

This *Prætor* was a Magiſtrate of extraordinary note, ſo call'd *à Præeundo*, a Name which the *Conſuls* themſelves had for ſome time. The Power and Authority of this Magiſtrate was very great, for he executed the Office of the *Conſuls* in their Abſence, both in the Senate and in the *Comitia*. But the principal Buſineſs of theſe *Prætors* was to adminiſter Juſtice in the City or Provinces, to which the *Conſuls* cou'd not ſo eaſily attend; and upon that account they may be *Engliſh'd, Lord Chief Juſtices*. They judg'd all Cauſes both Civil and Criminal, which laſt were call'd *Capitales*;

pitales; in Civil Cauſes they were cloath'd in Purple; but when they paſs'd Sentence in Criminal Cauſes, they were in Mourning. Upon the account of their Power and Honour, and likewiſe becauſe they were created by the ſame *Auſpicia* with the *Conſuls*, *Livy* calls them *Collegues of the Conſuls*. Their Ornaments and *Enſigns* were ſix *Lictors* with their *Faſces*, the *Toga Prætexta*, and *Cella Curulis*; and beſides thoſe Marks of Conſular Dignity, the *Sword* and *Spear*, plac'd by them in the Court. Their Officers in Court, beſides the *Lictors*, were the *Scribes* or *Notaries*, to enter Things in Writing, and the *Accenſi* or *Bailiffs*, who ſummon'd the People together. At firſt there was but one *Prætor*, and that for above 100 Years; then another was created, who adminiſter'd Juſtice to Strangers; whereupon, for diſtinction-ſake, the firſt was call'd *Prætor Urbanus* or *Major*, and the latter *Peregrinus* or *Minor*. But as the Buſineſs and Dominions of *Rome* increaſed, the Number of theſe *Prætors* was likewiſe enlarg'd, and increas'd gradually, till in *Auguſtus*'s Reign they came to ſixteen.

Immediately after the Reconciliation between the Nobility and Commons, a 4th Day was added to the *Latin Feriæ*, and the greater ſort of Games were ſolemniz'd; which when the *Ædiles* of the Commons were willing to manage according to their Office, the young *Patritians* offer'd themſelves, and the Senate procur'd alſo of the People, that two *Patritians* every Year might be made *Ædiles*, who from the Ivory Chair call'd *Cella Curulis*, had the Name of *Ædiles Curules*. Theſe were created 128 Years after the *Ædiles* of the Commons, but were of greater Account, as being *Curule* Magiſtrates, their Chair being ſo call'd either from *Currus*, the Chariot which carry'd it and the Magiſtrates about, or from *Curvus*, becauſe it was made with *crooked* Feet. They had all the ſame Offices and Buſineſs as the *Ædiles* of the Commons, but had rather greater Authority; but more eſpecially they took care of the great and publick

Ædiles Curules.

Publick Games, ſuch as the *Ludi, Florales, Circenſes, Megalenſes, Romani,* &c. as alſo of *Tragedies* and *Comedies.* Sometimes at their own Charge they made theſe Shews, and ever examin'd the Plays written before they were acted; and (whether from this Inſpection of all Plays and the like, it is uncertain) they ſeem to have been the *Licenſers* and Judges of other Writings. It is further obſerv'd, that the Generals of Armies, when return'd home from Victory, deliver'd up the Corn and Proviſions which were Prize to theſe *Ædiles Curules,* as they did the Priſoners to the *Prætor,* and the Money to the *Quæſtor.* Thus were the Diſturbances of *Rome* allay'd, and all things for a ſhort ſpace continu'd in Peace and Quiet.

IV. Soon after theſe Affairs were ſettled, News came of the *Gauls* meeting together, who had before been diſpers'd through *Apulia,* and of the intended Revolt of the *Hernici:* But all Preparations were deferred by the Senate, becauſe they were unwilling to have any thing done by a *Plebeian* Conſul. On the other ſide the *Tribunes* began to complain, that for one *Plebeian* Conſul, the Nobility had got three *Patrician* Magiſtrates, who ſate as Conſuls in their *Curule* Chairs, and their *Prætexta.* Modeſty therefore ſuffer'd not the Fathers to create both the *Curule Ædiles* out of their own Body; ſo that it was agreed firſt, that every other Year they ſhou'd be choſen out of the Commons; but afterwards they were elected promiſcuouſly: The Year following there happen'd a grievous Plague in the City, which ſwept away vaſt Numbers, among the reſt *Camillus* himſelf, after he had done ſo many noble Services for the City, that he was deſervedly call'd the ſecond Founder of *Rome.* The Plague raging both in this and the following Year, the *Romans,* to appeaſe their Gods, brought in *Stage-Plays*; ſending for Actors out of *Hetruria,* in the Language of which Country *Hiſter* ſignifying a Player, thence came the *Roman* Word *Hiſtrio.* *U. C.* 389. Stage-Plays firſt uſed. *U. C.* 391.

ſtrio. Theſe Plays were at firſt very barbarous and antick, beginning with a plain Country Dance to a Pipe; after which the young Men, who jear'd one another at firſt, began with rude and artleſs Verſes, call'd *Verſus Feſcennini*, from *Feſcenninum*, a City of *Hetruria*: This was about 40 Years after the Deaths of *Sophocles* and *Euripides* in *Greece*. Still the Plague continu'd, which, with the overflowing of *Tiber*, made the *Romans* conſider of ſome other ways; and ſome of the elder People reporting, *That a Peſtilence was formerly aſſuag'd by the* Dictator's *driving of a Nail*; the Senate immediately created a *Dictator*, which was *Manlius Capitolinus*, who appointed *Pinarius Natta* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. This Nail, with great Ceremony and Superſtition, was driven on the right ſide of *Jupiter's* Temple in the *Capitol*, juſt by that of *Minerva*, and this was the firſt *Dictator* created upon this account.

Dic. xxi. *U. C.* 391.

The Year following, the Ground cleaving aſunder in the *Forum* to a vaſt depth, *M. Curtius*, a brave young Soldier, is ſaid to have rode into this Gulph, arm'd, and with great Solemnity, and ſo being ſwallow'd up, purchaſed the Deliverance of his Country, according to the Declaration of their Gods. The ſame Year the *Hernici* being up in Arms againſt *Rome*, *Genutius* the *Plebeian* Conſul marching againſt 'em, was ſlain, and his Army routed; which threatning Danger caus'd the Senate to create a *Dictator*, which was *Claudius Caſſinus*, who made *Cornelius Scipio* his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and gain'd ſo much Advantage over the Enemy as to obtain an Ovation. Within a Year after, the *Gauls* were gather'd together in great Numbers, and had march'd within three Miles of *Rome*, which put the City into ſuch a Conſternation, that (according to their uſual way in ſuch Caſes) they created a *Dictator*; and this was *Quintius Pennus*, who had *Cornelius Maluginenſis* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. The Armies being drawn up on both ſides, a *Gaul* of vaſt Bulk and Stature challeng'd any

Dic. xxii. *U. C.* 392.

Dic. xxiii. *U. C.* 393.

any of the *Romans* to meet him in a ſingle Combat; which Challenge was accepted of by *T. Manlius*, a courageous young Man, who with great Bravery and Agility overthrew his mighty Foe, and ſlew him: Then taking a *Torques* or Golden Chain from his Neck, return'd, and was honourably receiv'd by the *Dictator*; and from thence he and his Poſterity had the Surname of *Torquatus*. The *Gauls* were ſo diſcourag'd at this Action, that they fled by Night, and retir'd into the *Tiburtines* Country, a People of *Latium*; and the *Dictator* return'd in Triumph.

The War with the *Tiburtines* and *Hernici* gave the *Gauls* Opportunity to do much Injury to the *Roman* Territories, which occaſion'd the Creation of another *Dictator*, which was *Servilius Ahala*, who choſe *Quintius Capitolinus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and ſoon quell'd the *Gauls*; but *Pætileus* the Conſul, who had been employ'd againſt the *Hernici*, happen'd to come off with the greateſt Honour. In a Year after Peace was made with the *Latines*, which was advantageous enough to the *Romans*, by reaſon of their frequent Auxiliaries from them: But the Year following, the great Preparations of the *Gauls* caus'd the Senate to create another *Dictator*, which was *Sulpitius Peticus*, who appointed *Valerius Poplicola* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and marching againſt the Enemy, obtain'd a ſignal Victory over 'em. In this Year were two new *Tribes* added to the former five and twenty, namely, the *Pomptine* and the *Publican*. About two Years after this, the whole Body of the *Hetrurians* took up Arms againſt *Rome*, led on by the *Tarquini* and *Faliſci*; in which great time of danger, *Marcius Rutilus*, a *Plebeian*, was made *Dictator*, which was the firſt Commoner that ever obtain'd this Honour, it being now 143 Years ſince their firſt Creation. He appointed *Plantius Proculus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, a *Plebeian* likewiſe; and tho' he was oppos'd by the *Patritians* as much as they cou'd, yet he did great Service againſt the Enemy, and triumph'd, but

Dic. xxiv. *U. C.* 394.

Dic. xxv. *U. C.* 396. *Tribes* increas'd a fourth time.

Dic. Pleb. xxvi. *U. C.* 398.

ſtill againſt the Senate's Conſent. The *Patritians* were ſo enrag'd at this, that at the next Election they took away the *Conſulſhip* from the Commons, after they had enjoy'd it ten Years; and this happen'd in the 399th Year of the City.

This occaſion'd many violent Heats and vaſt Diſturbances between both Parties, for three Years ſucceſſively, when ſome of the *Hetrurians* preſs'd ſo hard upon the *Roman* Territories, that another *Dictator* was created, namely, *Manlius Torquatus*, who made *Cornelius Coſſus* his *Maſter of the Horſe*; but the Enemy out of Fear was ſoon brought to a Peace, and ſo little was perform'd by him. Now the Conteſts and Quarrels at home were grown to that height, that the Senate was forc'd to give the Commons once more the Privilege of the *Conſulſhip*, four Years after they had taken it from them; and becauſe Uſury again was grown exceeding burthenſome to the poorer ſort, they appointed five Men to order the Payment of Debts out of the Treaſury: So now all Differences were again reconcil'd. Soon after this, a groundleſs Apprehenſion of the *Hetrurians*, who were reported to be all united againſt *Rome*, occaſion'd the Creation of another *Dictator*, which was *C. Julius*, who made *L. Æmilius* his *Maſter of the Horſe*; but he had ſo little Employment, that he left all to the next Conſuls, who were both *Patritians*. And they went againſt the *Tarquinii* and *Faliſci*, who were not yet quieted, and brought 'em to a Peace for the Term of forty Years.

Dic. xxvii. *U. C.* 401.

Dic. xxviii. *U. C.* 402.

V. Now *Rome* was for a while at Peace abroad, and might have been longer ſo at home, had not *Marcius Rutilus*, the *Plebeian Dictator*, ſtood for the Office of *Cenſor*, and rais'd new Diſturbances. The *Plebeians* urg'd it hotly; but the *Patritians*, the better to oppoſe 'em, procur'd a *Dictator* to be created, which was *M. Fabius*, *Q. Servilius* being his *Maſter of the Horſe*; but ſtill without Succeſs; for after many Conteſts, the *Plebeian* Faction prevail'd, and *Marcius* was made one of

Dic. xxix. *U. C.* 403.

of the *Cenſors*, which was the firſt *Plebeian Cenſor* in this City, it being 92 Years after their firſt Creation. The next Year a conſiderable Victory was obtain'd over the *Gauls*, who now grew troubleſome again, and one of the Conſuls being wounded, and the other ſick, the Senate was forc'd to create a *Dictator* for aſſembling the *Comitia* for a new Election of Conſuls, which was *Furius Camillus*, who made *Cornelius Scipio* his *Maſter of the Horſe*; and this was the firſt *Dictator* created upon this account. *Camillus* himſelf was choſen for one Conſul, and the Death of his Collegue ſoon after, and the preſſing Wars with the *Gauls*, caus'd the Senate to give him the ſole Authority, ſo that he was almoſt the ſame with a *Dictator*. *Camillus* led a noble Army againſt the *Gauls*, and when they were in ſight of each other, a *Gaul*, remarkable both for his Stature, and the Richneſs of his Arms, challeng'd any of the *Romans* to a ſingle Combat. *M. Valerius*, a brave young Colonel of the Foot, met him, and in a little time ſlew him; but in the midſt of the Combat a Crow came, and ſitting upon *Valerius*'s Head, with Beak and Wings aſſiſted him in his Fight, whence he had the Surname of *Corvus*, and his Poſterity all call'd *Corvini*. This Combat brought both Armies to a Battel, and the *Gauls* were entirely routed. *Camillus* returning home, procur'd a *Dictator* to be created for the holding of the *Comitia* for a new Election of *Conſuls*. This was *Manlius Torquatus*, his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *Cornelius Coſſus*; and in this *Comitia*, *Valerius Corvus*, for his great Deſerts, was made Conſul at 23 Years of Age, a thing indeed very extraordinary.

Dic. xxx. *U. C.* 404.

Dic. xxxi. *U. C.* 405.

Now the Armies were disbanded, and for a ſhort ſpace there was both Peace abroad, and Concord at home. This Year a Colony was drawn out from the City *Antia* to People *Satricum*, which had been deſtroy'd by the *Latins*; and alſo at *Rome*, a League was concluded with the Ambaſſadors of *Carthage*, who

who came on purpoſe to deſire Amity between both Nations, as *Livy* relates it. About three Years after, the *Arunci*, a People beyond the *Volſci*, and one of the ſix Nations of *Latium* in the largeſt Extent, made a ſudden Invaſion upon the *Roman* Territories; and upon Suſpicion that it was by the Inſtigation of the whole *Latin* Nation, *Furius Camillus* was created *Dictator*, as if all *Latium* had been up in Arms. He choſe *Manlius Capitolinus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and march'd againſt the Enemy, whom he found more like Robbers than Soldiers, ſo that in the very firſt Battel they were diſpers'd, and that War diſpatch'd. A Year after, a Temple was dedicated to *Juno Moneta*, on the *Capitol Hill*, as the laſt *Dictator* had vow'd; and ſoon after, ſome Prodigies were obſerv'd, of which the *Romans* were ſo ſuperſtitiouſly fearful, that they created a *Dictator*, to conſtitute certain Feaſts and Holy-days for the appeaſing of the Gods, and diverting the Judgments threaten'd: *Valerius Poplicola* was the Perſon, and *Fabius Ambuſtus* his *Maſter of the Horſe*: and this was the firſt created upon this account. Orders were given, that not only all the *Tribes* ſhou'd go in Proceſſion with their ſolemn Prayers, but alſo the bordering Nations; with preciſe Directions, upon what Days each of 'em ſhou'd make their Supplications. This Year likewiſe the Uſurers were proſecuted by the *Ædiles*, and ſevere Sentences given againſt 'em by the People.

Die. xxxii. *U. C.* 408.

Dic. xxxiii. *U. C.* 409.

Theſe were the principal Wars and Actions of the *Romans* with their neareſt Neighbours, which are obſerv'd by their own Hiſtorians to have been all defenſive, or at leaſt, not begun without juſt Grounds and Provocations; yet theſe, which may well enough bear the Name of Defenſive Wars, ſtill increas'd the *Roman* Dominions, which now contain'd in effect all old *Latium*, and the greateſt part of the other five Nations afterwards comprehended under that Name, *viz.* the *Volſci*, *Æqui*, *Rutili*, *Hernici*, and *Arunci*,

Arunci, together with moſt of *Sabina*, and a great Part of *Hetruria*: So that now their Dominions contain'd more than double the Extent of what they were at the Expulſion of the Kings. The laſt *Dictator* before-mentioned, was created a Year before the Wars with the *Samnites*, which Wars began *A. M.* 3661, in the firſt Year of the 109th *Olympiad*, 410 Years after the building of the City, 165 after the beginning of the *Conſular State*, 46 ſince the Reſtoration of the City, 14 before the Ruin of the *Perſian*, and the ſetting up the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander the Great*, and 342 before our Saviour *CHRIST*'s Nativity.

CHAP. VII.

From the Wars with the Samnites, *to the Wars with* Pyrrhus, *King of* Epirus, *the firſt Foreigner they had to deal with; wherein the* Romans *began to learn the Arts of War.*

Containing the Space of 63 Years.

I. HItherto the *Romans* had all their Wars nigh Home, and as it were at their own Gates; but now daily gathering Strength, and increaſing in Power, they ventur'd againſt the warlike *Samnites*, a People above 100 Miles Eaſt of *Rome*. Theſe *Samnites* were a hardy Nation, deſcended from the *Sabines*, from whom they probably had their Name, and inhabited a conſiderable Part of that ſide of *Italy*, which now goes by the Name of the Kingdom of *Naples*, having likewiſe ſeven other People as Dependents, namely, the *Picentes*, *Veſtini*, *Marrucini*, *Ferentini*, *Peligni*, *Marſi*, and *Hirpini*. The Occaſion of this War was the *Samnites* conteſting with their Neighbours the *Sidicini*, who immediately betook themſelves to the *Campanians* for Succour. Theſe *Campanians* were a luxurious and effeminate People, inhabiting a delicious *U. C.* 410.

cious Country bordering on *Samnium*; and were ſo weaken'd, that they ſent to *Rome* for Aid, their Ambaſſadors imploring it with Tears, and giving up both themſelves and Country into the Hands of the *Romans*. The Senate at firſt was very unwilling to begin a War with the *Samnites*, as being their Friends and Allies; but the importunate Cries and Prayers of the Ambaſſadors, and more eſpecially the ſcornful Refuſal of the *Samnites* to deſiſt from ravaging the Territories of *Capua* and *Campania*, ſo far prevail'd, as at laſt to make them undertake the War.

The Conſuls, *Valerius* and *Cornelius*, began their Marches with two diſtinct Armies; one to *Capua*, and the other into *Samnium*. *Valerius*, after a moſt bloody and obſtinate Fight, overthrew the Enemy in *Campania*, and became Maſter of their Camp. The *Romans* confeſs'd they never met with more reſolute Enemies; and demanding of 'em, *What made 'em fly after ſo brave a Reſiſtance?* They anſwer'd, *That the Eyes of the* Romans *appear'd to 'em like Flames of Fire, and their Looks ſo fierce and dreadful, as not to be born with.* In *Samnium*, *Cornelius*, the other Conſul, having unwarily led his Army too forward into a dangerous Place, *P. Decius*, a Tribune in the Army, boldly poſſeſs'd himſelf of a Hill above the Enemy, who, much ſurpriz'd at the Attempt, turn'd their principal Force thither, which gave Opportunity to the Conſul to draw off his Men to a more convenient Place. Whereupon *Decius*, with an undaunted Bravery, though ſurrounded, brake through the Enemy, which more amaz'd 'em than ever; and the Conſul at the ſame time charging with great Reſolution, ſo great a Victory was obtain'd, that 30000 of the *Samnites* were ſlain. Both the Conſuls triumph'd over the *Samnites*, and *Decius* was highly honour'd by the Senate and People for his great Services.

Soon after this, Ambaſſadors from *Campania* requeſted to have Garriſons from the *Romans* that Winter,

ter, in *Capua*, and other Places, to ſecure 'em from the Inſults of the *Samnites*, which were accordingly ſent. But many of the *Roman* Soldiers were ſo corrupted with the Delights and Pleaſures of *Capua*, that they began to form a Deſign of deſtroying the Inhabitants, and taking the Town to themſelves. This Deſign was communicated to many of their Companions in other Places, and well approv'd of; but it was ſoon diſcover'd to ſome of their Officers, who made ſeveral Removals to diſperſe 'em. But the Soldiers finding themſelves liable to be call'd to an Account, and perhaps ſeverely puniſh'd; as ſoon as they found Opportunity, gather'd themſelves together, and daily increas'd their Numbers, march'd directly for *Rome* in a rebellious and hoſtile manner. This Piece of Boldneſs ſo ſurpriz'd the Senate, that they preſently created a *Dictator*, which was *Valerius Corvus*, one of the laſt Year's Conſuls, who appointed *Æmilius Mamercinus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and march'd againſt the Rebels, who had now forc'd *T. Quintius*, an eminent Soldier, to be their General. Upon the Approach of both Armies, the Rebels out of Fear yielded themſelves, and were receiv'd into Favour, the *Dictator* having no more Employment abroad. In the ſame Year, the frequent Inroads made by the *Romans* into the *Samnites* Country, drew 'em to a Peace, the *Sidicini* being left to their Mercy.

Dic. xxxiv. *U. C.* 411.

II. Soon after this Peace, the *Samnites* deſir'd of the *Romans* that the *Latins* and *Campanians* might be commanded not to aſſiſt the *Sidicini*; but becauſe the Senate wou'd not deny that theſe Nations were under their Command, and were likewiſe unwilling to provoke 'em, ſuch an ambiguous Anſwer was return'd, that the *Latins* and *Campanians* thought themſelves ſo far diſoblig'd as to revolt. *Manlius Torquatus*, now Conſul the third time, and his Collegue *Decius Mus*, were ſent by the Senate to chaſtiſe the *Latins*, who now wou'd be ſatisfy'd with no leſs than having one of

of the Consuls, and half the Senators chosen out of their Nation. Upon certain Dreams and Prognostications, that the General on one side, and the Army on the other, was certainly to be destroy'd; the Consuls solemnly agreed, *That in what Part the* Roman *Army should be distress'd, the Commander of that Part should devote himself to the Gods, and die for his Country*; which generous Resolution was confirm'd by Oath: And because they were all acquainted with each others Discipline, and way of Fighting, strict Commands were given that no Man upon pain of Death should fight without Orders.

Both Armies were drawn up in Battalia, and a bloody and obstinate Engagement immediately follow'd, the *Latins* pressing very hard upon *Decius*'s Part, he according to his Promise devoted himself to the Gods, and rushing violently into the midst of his Enemies, after a great Slaughter lost his Life, the *Latins* being soon after entirely defeated. Nor was the Discipline of *Manlius* less remarkable than the Courage of *Decius*, in relation to his own Son: For he passing with his Troops before the Battel nigh the Enemy, was challeng'd by *Metius*, Captain of the *Tusculans*, whom when he had slain and stripp'd, his Father with Tears commended him for his Valour, but condemn'd him for his Disobedience; which, though a sad, was a profitable Example to the rest of his Men: And after that, cruel Commands were usually call'd *Manliana Dicta*. The *Latins* now defeated, begg'd Peace; which being given 'em, though not with the same Conditions to all, *Manlius* return'd in Triumph, but was met only by the old Men, the young ones refusing to do him that Honour, and ever after hating him upon the account of his Son. Soon after, the People of *Antium* and *Ardea* made Incursions into the *Roman* Territories: But *Manlius* being sick, he nam'd *Papirius Crassus* for *Dictator*, who appointed *Papirius Cursor* his *Master of the Horse*, and kept the Field some Months

Dic. XXXV. *U. C.* 413.

Months in the *Antiates* Country, but no remarkable Action happen'd.

The *Conſuls* for the following Year, *Æmilius* and *Publius*, overthrew the *Latins*, who had again revolted upon the account of ſome Lands taken from them. *Publius*, by whoſe Conduct the Victory was obtain'd, receiv'd into Alliance ſuch Cities as had been worſted, and *Æmilius* march'd his Army, and ſat down before *Pedum*, which receiv'd Supplies from ſeveral Places. Tho' he had the Advantage in all Skirmiſhes, yet ſtill the Town held out, and he underſtanding that his Collegue was return'd to his Triumph, he immediately left his Siege, and went for *Rome* to demand that Honour likewiſe. The Senate was much offended at this Preſumption, denying him that Honour, except *Pedum* was either taken or ſurrender'd; which caus'd him out of Revenge to join with the *Tribunes* againſt the *Patritians* the reſt of his Time, his Collegue not oppoſing it, being himſelf a *Plebeian*. The Senate, out of a deſire to get free of 'em both, order'd a *Dictator* to be created, whom it fell to *Æmilius*'s ſhare to nominate, as having the *Faſces* that Month. *Æmilius* nam'd his Collegue *Publius Philo*, who appointed *Junius Brutus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and was the ſecond *Plebeian Dictator* in *Rome*. *Publius* was a great Vexation to the Nobility, and was full of Invectives againſt 'em, procuring three remarkable Laws, whereof the firſt alter'd the very Conſtitution of the State, which was, *That the* Plebiſcita *ſhou'd bind the* Quirites *or Citizens of* Rome, *of all Ranks and Degrees whatſoever*. The ſecond was, *That ſuch Laws as were enacted in the* Centuriata Comitia, *ſhou'd be propos'd or paſs'd by the Senate before they were voted by the People*. The third, *That whereas they had obtain'd before, that both the* Cenſors *might be* Plebeians, *now one at leaſt muſt of neceſſity be ſo*. So now the Majeſty of the *Roman* State was more impair'd by the Authority of theſe two at home, than it was augmented by their Valour abroad.

Dict. xxxvi. *U. C.* 414.

In

In the following Year, wherein *Furius Camillus* and *C. Mænius* were Conſuls, *Pedum* was taken by Storm, and the Conſuls in purſuit of the Victory conquer'd all *Latium*, bringing it and ſome neighbouring Parts to an entire Submiſſion; for which they triumph'd, and had Statues on Horſeback erected for 'em in the *Forum*, an Honour very rare in thoſe Days. The ſeveral People of *Latium* had ſeveral Conditions of Peace appointed 'em, ſome being rewarded and honour'd, others puniſh'd and diſgrac'd, according as their former Behaviour had been. To *Antium* was ſent a new Colony, the old Inhabitants being forbidden the Sea, and had all their long Ships taken from 'em, but had leave to enter themſelves in the Colony, and were made free of that City. The Ships were ſome of 'em brought into the *Roman* Arſenal, others burnt, and with their *Roſtra* or Beaks, was the Gallery or Pulpit for Orations in the *Forum* adorn'd; whence that had afterwards the Name of *Roſtra*. The Year following, *Minucia*, a Veſtal Virgin, was bury'd alive in the *Campus Sceleratus*, which, as *Livy* believes, had its Name from *Inceſt*; for ſo Incontinency in thoſe Women was call'd. And in the ſame Year, *Publius Philo* was made *Prætor*, who was the firſt *Plebeian* that obtain'd this Honour, the Senate little regarding it, having been ſo often overpower'd in Matters of the greateſt conſequence: And this happen'd in the 416th Year of the City, and 28 Years after the firſt Creation of this Office.

Roſtra.

Prætor Pleb.

U. C. 416.

III. Not long after the Agreement between the *Romans* and *Latins*, a War broke out between the *Arunci* and the *Sidicini* in *Campania*, in which the latter conſtrain'd the former to abandon their ancient Seats and ſettle in *Sueſſa*, which was afterwards call'd *Arunca*. The *Arunci* had given up themſelves to the *Romans*, who thereupon order'd 'em Relief; but the Conſuls deferring it, loſt the Opportunity of aſſiſting 'em

'em. But in the next Year, the *Sidicini*, with their Confederates and Neighbours, the Inhabitants of *Cales*, were overthrown; and *Valerius Corvus*, now the fourth time Conſul for the following Year, and one of the greateſt *Roman* Commanders of his time, took *Cales* alſo, in which he plac'd a Colony of 2500 Perſons. *Corvus* return'd in Triumph; but he and his Collegue being employ'd in ſome ſmall Actions abroad, a *Dictator* was created for the holding the *Comitia* for the Election of new Conſuls, which was *Æmilius Mamercinus*, who appointed *Publius Philo* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. Two Years before this, a *Dictator* was created, and another a Year after this; but by reaſon of their undue Election, and their not acting, I ſhall not reckon 'em among the Number of *Dictators*. Affairs abroad were in a peaceable Poſture for ſome time; but in two or three Years, the mere Rumour of an Invaſion by the *Gauls* occaſion'd the Creation of a *Dictator*, which was *Papirius Craſſus*, his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *V. Poplicola*; but neither of 'em had any extraordinary Employment. In this ſame Year, two new Tribes were added, namely, the *Metian* and the *Scaptian*, for the late admitted Citizens, which now made the Number twenty nine: The *Arunci* were alſo made free of the City, but without the Privilege of Voting, by a Law preferr'd by *Papirius* the *Prætor*.

Dic. xxxvii. *U. C.* 418.

Dic. xxxviii. *U. C.* 421.

Tribes increas'd a fifth time.

About a Year after the Settlement of theſe Matters, above 170 Women were put to death for the Art of Poyſoning, being diſcover'd by a She-Slave. This was look'd upon as ſuch a Prodigy by the ſuperſtitious People, that a *Dictator* was created to drive a Nail into *Jupiter*'s Temple, as the beſt Remedy for the Diſtempers of the State. *Quintius Varus* was the Man, and *Valerius Pontius* his *Maſter of the Horſe*; and this was the ſecond *Dictator* created upon that account. For the two ſucceeding Years, a War was carry'd on againſt the Inhabitants of *Privernum* in the *Volſcian* State, who

Dic. xxxix. *U. C.* 422.

were drawn into it by *Vitrurius Vaccus*, a Man of principal Note among the *Aruncі*. The firſt Year they were overthrown, the next *Vitrurius* was taken Priſoner, and *Privernum* ſurrender'd; the principal Actors with *Vitrurius* being put to Death, and the reſt of the Inhabitants made free of the City: This happen'd in the ſame Year with *Alexander*'s deſtroying the *Perſian* Empire, and his ſetting up the *Macedonian*, and 60 after the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. In a Year or two after, the Inhabitants of *Palæpolis* in *Campania*, truſting to the Treachery of the *Samnites*, and taking Advantage from a Plague in *Rome*, committed great Acts of Hoſtility againſt the *Romans*, who dwelt about *Cumæ* and *Falernus*. War was preſently declar'd againſt 'em; and tho' they were aſſiſted by the *Samnites* and *Tarentines*, a People beyond 'em, yet they were forc'd to yield up their City, which ſtood in the ſame Place where *Naples* did afterwards, and the *Samnites* loſt three of their own Towns. The *Tarentines* nevertheleſs proceeded, and drew the *Samnites*, with the reſidue of the *Palæpolitans*, again into the War, wherein the *Veſtini*, together with their Allies, were alſo engag'd.

U. C. 424

In the beginning of this War, great Commotions happen'd in the City, occaſion'd by one *Papirius*, who had given up himſelf as Slave to *Publius*, a ſevere Uſurer, to work out his Father's Debt. *Papirius* being both young and beautiful, *Publius* attempted to abuſe him after a filthy manner, and upon his refuſal, moſt cruelly ſcourg'd him. In this Condition *Papirius* fled to the People, who were ſo affected with his barbarous Uſage, that they procur'd theſe two Laws ſhortly after: Firſt, *That no Man ſhou'd be detain'd in Bonds, except for heinous Miſdemeanors, and then not after Puniſhment.* The Second, *That the Money and Goods, not the Body of the Debtor, ſhou'd be reſponſible*: Whereupon all Priſoners for Debt were immediately ſet at Liberty. The following Year, the *Veſtini* were overthrown by *Brutus Scæva*, the Conſul, and two Towns taken from

from 'em. His Collegue, *Furius Camillus*, being ſick at *Samnium*, nam'd *Papirius Curſor* for *Dictator*, the moſt famous Commander in thoſe times, who appointed *Fabius Rullianus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. *Papirius* being encamp'd nigh the *Samnites*, was forc'd to return to *Rome* to renew his *Auſpicia*, leaving a moſt ſtrict Command to *Fabius* not to ſtir out of his Trenches in his Abſence: But *Fabius* finding a great Advantage, engag'd the Enemy, and made a great Slaughter of 'em. The *Dictator* in a great Rage return'd to the Camp, and wou'd have put him to death, but the Army reſcu'd him; which caus'd *Papirius* to make great Complaints to the Senate, withal urging the abſolute Neceſſity of a ſtrict Diſcipline and Authority. But at laſt the Intreaties of the Fathers, with the Commotions of the *Tribunes* and People, prevail'd with him to ſpare his Life. This Severity of *Papirius* ſo alienated the Hearts of the Soldiers, that it almoſt coſt him the loſs of a Battel ſoon after, which conſtrain'd him to be more Popular for the future; after which he overthrew the *Samnites*, and ſo much waſted their Country, as forc'd them to deſire a Peace. *Dic.* xl. *U. C.* 428.

The *Samnites* ſoon return'd to their former Enmity, and in two Years time they grew ſo ſtrong, that the Senate thought it neceſſary to create a *Dictator* to oppoſe 'em, and this was *Cornelius Arvina*, who appointed *Fabius Ambuſtus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and gave the Enemy a great Overthrow; by which the *Samnites* were ſo weaken'd, that they ſent all their Priſoners and Plunder to *Rome*, together with the dead Body of the Author of the Revolt, who had kill'd himſelf to avoid being deliver'd up, and all to purchaſe Peace. The Senate only receiv'd the Men, with ſuch Goods as were particularly challeng'd, and deny'd 'em Peace. Inrag'd at this, *Pontius*, the chief Man among 'em, drew out the *Samnites* to a Place call'd *Caudium*, and putting ten Soldiers in the Habit of Shepherds, he ſent 'em to *Calacia*, where the *Conſuls* *Dic.* xli. *U. C.* 431.

lay, with Inſtructions to report that the *Samnites* were now in *Apulia* before *Luceria*, and had almoſt taken it. The Conſuls believing this Report, made all ſpeed to relieve the Town, leſt their Allies, the *Apulians*, might be oblig'd to join with the *Samnites*. Now the *Romans* had but two ways to march to *Lucretia*; one large enough, but far about; the other a narrow Paſſage through the Straits of *Caudium*, a Place encompaſs'd with high Mountains, and extream difficult and dangerous to paſs, if an Enemy were nigh. The Conſuls leading their Army through this, were immediately block'd up on all ſides by *Pontius*, who had poſſeſs'd himſelf of all the Defiles.

The *Samnites* having got the *Romans* at this great Advantage, immediately ſent to *Herennius*, *Pontius*'s Father, to know how to proceed. *Herennius* ſent two ſeveral Meſſages, the firſt to diſmiſs the *Romans* without any Injury at all, the ſecond to put 'em all to the Sword; urging, *That one of theſe two ways was abſolutely neceſſary; for the firſt would lay a perpetual Obligation on a moſt powerful People, and the ſecond wou'd be a great weakning of a moſt formidable Enemy; and that no third Way cou'd either gain their Friendſhip, or diminiſh their Strength.* But this prudent Counſel wou'd not be heard; ſo the *Romans* had theſe Articles allow'd 'em: Firſt, *That their Army ſhould march away only with their under Garments, having firſt, in token of Slavery, paſs'd under the* Jugum *or Gallows:* Secondly, *They ſhou'd wholly quit all* Samnium, *and remove all their Colonies:* And, Thirdly, *Both* Roman *and* Samnite *ſhou'd live under the ſame Terms of Confederacy and Alliance.* The *Romans* were conſtrain'd to ſubmit to theſe diſgraceful Articles, and with wonderful Shame, Anger and Confuſion, return'd to *Capua* diſarm'd and half naked, and from thence to *Rome*. The whole City was moſt ſenſibly afflicted at their ſhameful Diſaſter; their generous Blood boiling in their Veins, and nothing but Fury and Revenge appear'd in their Faces. The Conſuls refus'd to appear abroad, or to act, for which reaſon

a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* of a new Election, which was *Æmilius Papus*, who appointed *Valerius Flaccus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. But inſtead of an Election of Conſuls, the State for a while fell into an *Interregnum*, there being nothing but Grief and Vexation in all Places, and the whole City put into Mourning. *Dic.* xlii. *U. C.* 432.

But the Year following, Conſuls were choſen, *Papirius Curſor* and *Publius Philo* being the Perſons; and the Senate being aſſembled, *Poſthumius*, one of the laſt Year's Conſuls, generouſly offer'd himſelf to be deliver'd, together with his Collegue, up to the Enemy, and ſo to break the *Caudine* Treaty, urging, *That only they two were oblig'd to obſerve the Articles, and not the State, which was altogether ignorant of what was done.* This was gratefully accepted of; but *Pontius* refus'd to receive 'em, greatly exclaiming againſt the Perfidiouſneſs of the *Romans*. But the Army ſoon march'd againſt them under the Conduct of *Papirius*, and ſufficiently reveng'd themſelves of all former Affronts, overthrowing 'em in ſeveral Battels, making 'em all paſs under the *Jugum*, recovering ſeveral Towns, and freeing the 600 Hoſtages which they had deliver'd to 'em in the *Caudine* Treaty; ſo that the *Samnites* cou'd very hardly obtain a two Years Truce. In the time of this Truce, two new *Tribes* were added to the reſt, namely, the *Uſentine* and *Falerine*, which made the Number thirty one. The *Samnites*, encourag'd by ſome others, broke their Truce, which, together with the *Hetrurians* warlike Preparations, occaſion'd the Creation of a *Dictator*, which was *L. Æmilius*, who made *L. Fulvius* his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and in a bloody Battel overthrew the Enemy, who came to relieve *Saticula*, which he had inveſted. The next Year, another *Dictator* was created to carry on this War, which was *Fabius Maximus*, who choſe *Aulus Cerretan* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and took *Saticula*, managing the War with great Succeſs againſt the *Samnites*, and conſiderably enlarging

Tribes increas'd a fixth time. *U. C.* 436. *Dic.* xliii. *U. C.* 437. *Dic.* xliv. *U. C.* 438.

larging the *Roman* Dominions in thoſe Parts.

The following Year, a dangerous Conſpiracy was diſcover'd at *Capua*; and this occaſion'd the creating
Dic. xlv. of a *Dictator*, which was *C. Mænius*, who made
U. C. choice of *M. Feſtius* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and
439 ſoon ſuppreſs'd that Diſturbance. The next Year the *Samnite* War was carry'd on with great Vigour, and
Dic xlvi. a *Dictator* created, which was *C. Petælius*, who made
U. C. *M. Feſtius* his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and gain'd great
440. Advantages over the Enemy. After which the *Romans* had a ſhort breathing time, and but a ſhort one; for ſoon after, the *Hetrurians* making great
Dic. Threats, and as great Preparations, another *Dictator*
xlvii. was created, which was *Junius Bubulcus*, who per-
U. C. form'd little againſt 'em, by reaſon of their keeping
441. upon the Defenſive. In this ſame Year, *Appius Claudius* being one of the *Cenſors*, made the famous Cawſey, or Highway call'd *Via Appia*, a prodigious Work, together with the Channel of freſh Water, which he brought into the City; which Works he all alone accompliſh'd, according to *Livy*. A Year or two was employ'd againſt the *Hetrurians*, till at laſt
Dic. *Papirius* was made *Dictator*, who chuſing *Bubulcus* his
xlviii. *Maſter of the Horſe*, gave 'em the greateſt Overthrow
U. C. that they ever received yet, all their choiceſt Men
443. being loſt; and from that time they were never able to perform much againſt *Rome*. Four Years after,
Dic. xlix. a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for
U. C. Election of Conſuls, which was *Cornelius Scipio*, and
447. *Decius Mus* was his *Maſter of the Horſe*. In the ſecond Year after this, the *Samnites*, after many and great Loſſes, obtain'd a Peace, 12 Years after they broke their Truce, and the ancient League was renew'd with 'em, and this happen'd 37 Years after the firſt War with that Nation.

U. C. 440. Soon after this Peace was concluded, the *Romans* turn'd their Arms againſt the *Æqui*, and chaſtiz'd them for aſſiſting the *Samnites*, which affrighted other

other Nations into Subjection, the *Roman* Dominions now daily increaſing. But however ſuch Reſiſtance was made as they thought it neceſſary to have a *Dictator*, which was *Junius Bubulcus*, who choſe *M. Titinius* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and in eight Days time return'd in Triumph. In leſs than a Year after, the Fame of the *Hetrurians* joining with the *Umbrians*, a People on the *North* of them, and the *Sabines*, occaſion'd the creating of another *Dictator*, which was *Valerius Maximus*, who appointed *Æmilius Paulus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. This *Dictator* entirely broke the Power of all the *Hetrurians*, reducing all their Territories to the *Roman* Subjection; which happen'd above 430 Years after the firſt Wars with thoſe People. The *Umbrians* were likewiſe much weaken'd, and loſt a conſiderable Part of their Country; the *Romans* ſtill extending their Dominions on all ſides, and continually increaſing their Strength.

Dic. I. *U. C.* 451. *Dic.* Ii. *U. C.* 452.

During ſome ſort of Intermiſſion abroad, the Commons began to fall into their former diſſatisfy'd Humour, and the *Tribunes* much complain'd that all the *Prieſts* and *Augurs* were created out of the *Patritians*, and urg'd that the *Plebeians* might alſo partake of thoſe Offices. The Senate made no great Oppoſitions, as being ſufficiently accuſtom'd to yield in Matters of greater moment: So that whereas at preſent there were but four *Chief Prieſts*, and as many *Augurs*, anſwering to the four *Tribes* in the City, now four more were added, and to thoſe, five more out of the Body of the Commons. And in this ſame Year, *Valerius*, the Conſul, preferr'd a Law of *Appeal* more carefully enacted; which was the third time this Law was confirm'd ſince the Expulſion of the Kings, and always occaſion'd by the ſame Family. The ſame Conſul fell upon the *Æqui*, who were now in Rebellion, and in a little time they had nothing left 'em of their ancient Fortune but the Stoutneſs of their Tempers. The

Tribes increas'd a seventh time.

following Year was a *Luſtrum*, and two new *Tribes* were added to the former, namely, the *Anienſis*, and the *Tarentine*, which now made the whole Number thirty three. The City was alſo much increas'd, for at the next *Luſtrum*, five Years after, there were ceſs'd no leſs than 262322 free Citizens.

U. C. 454.

Within a Year after this, the *Samnites*, after ſix Years reſpite, broke their League with the *Romans*, and with them were fought ſeveral Battels, the *Samnites* being almoſt always Loſers. But the moſt memorable was that about three Years after this laſt Breach, when they had got the *Umbrians* and *Gauls* with ſome of the *Hetrurians* to aſſiſt them, and receiv'd a moſt diſmal Overthrow by the Conſuls *Fabius Maximus* and *Decius Mus*. In the midſt of this Fight, *Decius* ſeeing his Party retire, and in danger of being defeated, he follow'd the great Example of his Father above forty Years before, and moſt ſolemnly devoted himſelf to the Gods; then ruſhing into the midſt of the Enemy with an extraordinary Fury and Courage, he recover'd his Army, but with the loſs of his Life. About two Years after, *Papirius*, Son to the former, got a noble Victory over them, took above 15000 Priſoners, gain'd ſeveral Towns, and obtain'd a ſplendid Triumph. But the following Year, the *Samnites* ventur'd another Battel, and had better Fortune, overthrowing *Fabius Gurges*, the Conſul, which put the Senate upon removing of him. But his Father, *Fabius Maximus*, to prevent the Diſgrace, promis'd to be Lieutenant to his Son; which Office he perform'd ſo well, as he procur'd him a great Victory, and a Triumph. And within two Years after, the *Samnites* were ſo mortify'd, as to beg a Peace, after *Pontius* their General had been taken and ſlain, which was at laſt granted 'em, and the League was renew'd with 'em a fourth time.

U. C. 462.

In leſs than a Year's time, the *Samnites* again broke their League, but were puniſh'd with the loſs of ſeve-

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ral Battels and more Towns, over whom *Dentatus* the Conſul triumph'd twice in one Year; after which were Colonies ſent to *Caſtrum*, *Sena*, and *Adria*. Two Years after, the *Triumviri* for Capital Matters were created, who had Power to impriſon and puniſh all Malefactors; and in the ſame Year 273000 Free Citizens were ceſs'd. Three Years after that, the Commons, by reaſon of their deſperate Debts, and violent Conteſts between them and the *Patritians*, withdrew themſelves into the Hill *Janiculum*; which was the third Separation of the *Plebeians*. The Senate, to appeaſe this dangerous Tumult, created *Q. Hortenſius Dictator*, who, with many Arts, and much Difficulty, perſuaded 'em to return, promiſing them, *That their* Plebiſcita *ſhou'd have the Force of Laws, and bind the whole Body Politick.* This was call'd the *Lex Hortenſia*, tho' the ſame, in effect, had been granted twice before. Soon after, Wars were ſucceſsfully managed againſt the *Lucani*, a Nation in almoſt the fartheſt Parts of *Italy*, who had moleſted the *Thurini*, the *Roman* Allies. But the laſt of the *Italians* that made much Oppoſition, were the *Tarentines*, formerly mention'd, who inhabited a very large and rich City in the South-Eaſtern Parts of *Italy*, 240 Miles from *Rome*. Theſe People had plunder'd ſeveral of the *Roman* Ships, which was the Occaſion and Beginning of that War.

Triumviri Capitales.

Dic. liii. *U. C.* 467.

U. C. 472.

Nevertheleſs theſe *Tarentines*, tho' join'd with the *Lucani*, *Meſſapii*, *Brutii*, *Apulii*, and *Samnites*, (the four former being their Neighbours, and the Inhabitants of the South-Eaſtern Parts of *Italy*) were not able to oppoſe the extraordinary growing Power of the *Romans*; but were in a ſhort time ſo diſtreſs'd, that they were forc'd to ſend for *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* to come over and aſſiſt 'em. And thus began the memorable War with that famous Commander, the moſt conſiderable the *Romans* ever before met with, which happen'd in the 473d Year of the City, *A. M.* 3724, in the 4th Year of the 124th *Olympiad*, 228 ſince the beginning

beginning of the *Conſular State*, 109 ſince the burning of the City by the *Gauls*, 49 ſince the beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander*, and 279 before our Saviour *CHRIST*.

CHAP. VIII.

From the firſt Wars with Pyrrhus *King of* Epirus, *to the firſt* Punick *or* Carthaginian *War, when the* Romans *firſt ſet Foot out of* Italy.

Containing the Space of 16 Years.

U. C. 473. PYrrhus was much ſollicited by the *Tarentines*, to come into *Italy*, who, in the Name of many of the *Italians*, made many large Preſents to him, ſignifying, *How much they ſtood in need of a General, ſo eminent both for Abilities, and the Reputation of his Arms.* *Pyrrhus* being of a generous and ambitious Temper, promis'd 'em to come over with an Army, and ſhortly after diſpatch'd *Cineas*, a *Theſſalian*, an excellent Orator and Scholar of *Demoſthenes*, with 3000 Men for *Tarentum*. Soon after him, he put to Sea with 20 Elephants, 3000 Horſe, 20000 Foot, 2000 Archers, and 500 Slingers; but meeting with a great Storm, his Ships were much diſpers'd, and ſome loſt, ſo that he arriv'd at *Tarentum* but with a ſmall Part of his Army. When he enter'd the Town, he refus'd to act without their particular Order, till the reſt of his Army were arriv'd; then obſerving how the Inhabitants apply'd themſelves chiefly to Bathing, Feaſting, and their Pleaſures, he ſhut up the Publick Meeting Places, reſtrain'd them from Drinking and Games, and called them to Arms, being very ſevere in liſting Men fit for Action and Service. He now receiv'd Intelligence, that *Lævinus* the *Roman* Conſul was upon his March

March with a numerous Army, waſting *Lucania* as he paſs'd; and though theſe Confederate Troops were not all arriv'd, he drew out his Army againſt him; but before the Armies cou'd join, he ſent to *Lævinus*, offering a Mediation between the *Romans* and their Adverſaries. But *Lævinus* return'd Anſwer, *That he neither eſteem'd him as a Mediator, nor fear'd him as an Enemy*; and taking his Meſſengers, he order'd 'em to be led through the midſt of the Camp, and bad them *go tell their Maſter what they had ſeen.*

Pyrrhus advanc'd and encamp'd on the Plain between *Pandeſia* and *Heraclia*; and perceiving the *Romans* lay on the other ſide of the River *Lyris* in good Order, he planted Men all along the Bank to oppoſe their Paſſage: But the *Romans* haſtening to prevent the coming up of thoſe Forces he expected, attempted the Paſſage with their Infantry, where it was fordable, the Horſe getting over in ſeveral Places; ſo that the *Greeks* fearing to be hemm'd in, were oblig'd to retreat a little way; which *Pyrrhus* perceiving, drew up his Men in Battalia, himſelf at the Head of 'em, and began the Charge. He was very remarkable for the Fineneſs and Richneſs of his Arms, but more for the Bravery and Nobleneſs of his Acts; managing the Battel with a great Steadineſs and Preſence of Mind, and peforming the Drudgery of a common Soldier, as well as the Office of a General. In the midſt of the Fight, *Pyrrhus*'s Horſe was kill'd under him, which oblig'd him to change Armour with one near him, who being taken for the King, was ſlain, and his Armour taken. This Armour being carry'd about by the *Romans* in token of his Death, ſtruck ſuch a Terror into his Soldiers, that it had loſt him the Victory, but that he ſeaſonably, and with much Labour, made himſelf known. Whilſt the Battel ſeem'd doubtful, the Elephants were ſent in among the *Romans*, and the Surprize they were in, together with their Horſes not enduring the Smell and Bigneſs of thoſe Creatures, broke

broke their Ranks; whereupon *Pyrrhus* commanded the *Theſſalian* Cavalry to charge them in this Diſorder, and gave them a total Rout, with great Slaughter, tho' with the loſs of many of his beſt Men, he himſelf alſo being wounded. The *Romans* loſt nigh 15000 Men, and had 1800 taken Priſoners; and the other ſide loſt 13000, as *Plutarch* obſerves out of *Dionyſius*.

Pyrrhus us'd the *Roman* Priſoners with extraordinary Civility and Courteſy, and generouſly bury'd their Dead; then taking a View of their Bodies, and obſerving that they were all wounded before, and what noble and ſtern Countenances they had, he lift up his Eyes, and cry'd, *O how eaſily might I conquer the World, were I Maſter of ſuch Soldiers!* After this Battel, *Pyrrhus* being join'd with the Auxiliary Troops of the *Samnites*, *Lucani* and *Brutii*, directed his March towards *Rome*, and advanc'd as far as *Præneſte*, laying waſte all before him. The *Romans* us'd all neceſſary Diligence to recruit their Troops, and to make new Levies, ſtirring up their Courages as much as poſſible, *Fabritius*, a *Patritian*, inſinuating, *That the Loſs was not through want of Valour, but Conduct, and that the* Grecians *had not overcome the* Romans, *but* Pyrrhus *had conquer'd* Lævinus. *Pyrrhus* finding the *Romans* very diligent and expeditious in their Recruits, conſider'd it was more honourable to treat with 'em after his Victory; ſince he had but ſmall hopes of ſubduing them, and for that purpoſe ſent *Cineas* to find out their Inclinations, a Man ſo powerful in Rhetorick, that the King acknowledg'd him, *to have ſtorm'd more Towns by his Tongue, than he ever did by his Arms.* *Cineas* very cloſely apply'd himſelf to ſeveral of the Nobility, with Preſents for themſelves and their Ladies as from his Maſter; but he found them ſo ſteady and unmov'd, that not a ſingle Perſon wou'd receive any, and both Men and Women anſwer'd, *That if a Treaty were publickly concluded, they then ſhou'd be ready to*

ſhew

ſhew all Reſpect and Service due to ſo great a Man as the King was.

Cineas finding theſe Methods ineffectual, proceeded to his Buſineſs more publickly, and being come into the Senate, he ſaid the moſt ſoft and obliging Things in the World; likewiſe offering in his Maſter's Name, to return all that was taken in the Battel without Ranſom, and promiſing all the Aſſiſtance that cou'd be expected for the conquering all *Italy*, only asking for his Maſter and the *Tarentines* their Friendſhip and Alliance. Theſe fair Promiſes at firſt made the Senate ſomewhat inclin'd to a Treaty, till *Appius Claudius*, now blind and very ancient, was brought into the Senate-houſe, who by a ſtirring and encouraging Oration, ſo warm'd the Aſſembly, that *Cineas* could be heard no more, but was diſmiſs'd with this Anſwer; *That when* Pyrrhus *had withdrawn his Forces from* Italy, *then if he pleas'd they would treat with him about Friendſhip and Alliance; but till then, they reſolv'd to carry on the War with the utmoſt Vigour, tho' they met with never ſo many Defeats. Cineas*, at his return, was ask'd by *Pyrrhus*, what he thought of *Rome?* he told him, *That the Senate appear'd to him as a venerable Aſſembly of ſo many Kings; and the People he thought were like the* Hydra, *whoſe Numbers increas'd the more for the Defeat; for the Conſul had already rais'd twice as great an Army, and there were ſtill far greater Numbers behind.*

Soon after *Cineas*'s Return, the *Romans* ſent to *Pyrrhus*, about ranſoming of Priſoners; among others, *C. Fabricius*, a Perſon eminent for his great Virtues, and remarkable for his profeſs'd Poverty. *Pyrrhus* receiv'd him with an extraordinary Civility and Kindneſs, likewiſe offer'd him Gold, aſſuring him, *It was no otherwiſe than an hoſpitable Reſpect to a Perſon of his Excellencies*; but all this had no effect upon the Steadineſs of *Fabricius*'s Temper. The next Day, *Pyrrhus* trying all Methods to diſcompoſe him, commanded one of his largeſt Elephants, compleatly arm'd, to be plac'd behind

behind the Hangings, and in the midſt of their Diſcourſe, upon a Sign given, the Tapeſtry was drawn aſide, and the huge Elephant raiſing his Trunk over *Fabricius*'s Head, made a hideous Noiſe. *Fabricius*, tho' he had never ſeen this Creature, was not at all afraid, but gently turning about, and ſmiling, ſaid, *Neither your Gold yeſterday, nor your dreadful Beaſt to day, can make any Impreſſion upon me.* *Pyrrhus*, amaz'd at the Greatneſs of his Mind, releas'd the Priſoners, intruſting 'em to him alone, with nothing but a Promiſe, *That if the Senate accepted not of Peace, they ſhou'd return to him*; which accordingly they did, being commanded to do it by the Senate upon pain of Death. In the ſame Year, *Coruncanius*, *Lævinus*'s Collegue, triumph'd over ſome of the *Hetrurians* who had revolted; and likewiſe this Year the *Luſtrum* being perform'd, 278222 Free Citizens were ceſs'd.

U. C. 474. II. The *Roman* Army being now recruited, *Sulpicius Saverrio*, and *Decius Mus*, the Conſuls for the following Year, were ſent againſt *Pyrrhus*. The *Romans* had now learn'd not to fear the Elephants ſo much as formerly, and were very careful in obſerving and underſtanding *Pyrrhus*'s Art and Couduct in Battel. Both Armies met about the City of *Aſculum*, and *Pyrrhus* was incommoded by a wooddy Country, very inconvenient for his Cavalry, and a very ſwift Current of the River, that the Elephants, for want of ſure Footing, could not get up with the Infantry: But after many wounded and kill'd, the Night put an end to the Fngagement. The next Morning, *Pyrrhus* deſigning to fight on even Ground, and to have the Elephants in the thickeſt of the Enemy, caus'd a Detachment to poſſeſs themſelves of thoſe incommodious Grounds, and mixing Slingers and Archers among the Elephants, with great Courage advanc'd in a cloſe and well order'd Body; and the *Romans* not having thoſe Advantages of retreating and falling on as they had

had before, were oblig'd to fight Man to Man upon plain Ground, making a bloody Slaughter among the *Græcian* Spear-men, not minding or valuing what they suffer'd themselves: After a long and obstinate Fight, the *Romans* were so press'd upon, especially by the mighty Force of the Elephants and the *Græcian* Cavalry, and so overpower'd, that they retreated to their Camp with the loss of 6000 Men, the Enemy having lost nigh 4000. This Battel is variously related; but this is the truest Account that I can find of it.

After this Engagement, 'tis said, *Pyrrhus* reply'd to a Gentleman who congratulated him for his Victory, *If we overcome the* Romans *another time, we are utterly ruin'd.* For by this time he had lost a great Part of his Forces he had brought over, and almost all his particular Friends and Commanders. This Battel finish'd the Campaign, and the rest of the time was employ'd in taking Care for the next; at which time *Fabricius* himself was chosen Consul, together with *Æmilius Papus.* At the nigh Approach of the two Armies, *Fabricius* receiv'd a Letter from the King's principal Physician, *offering to take off* Pyrrhus *by Poyson, and so end the War without farther hazard to the* Romans, *provided he might have a Reward proportionable to the Greatness of the Service. Fabricius,* enrag'd at the Villany of the Physician, and disposing his Collegue to the same Opinion, immediately dispatch'd Letters to *Pyrrhus* to let him know *what an ill Choise he had made both of his Friends and Enemies; that he was in War with Honest Men, and trusted and promoted Villains; and that the* Romans *abhorr'd all Treacherous Practices, it being their Custom to conquer an Enemy by the Power of their own Arms, and not by Treason of the others Subjects. Pyrrhus* receiv'd the Message with all Courtesy, and being more and more surpriz'd at the *Roman* Greatness and Generosity, he cry'd out, *This is that* Fabricius, *whom it is harder to turn from the Ways of Vertue and Honesty, than the Sun from its Course.* Such was the noble Spirit of the

Romans

Romans in theſe Days, where each Man minded the Honour of the Publick more than his own particular Profit.

Pyrrhus made a ſtrict Enquiry into this Plot, and executed the Phyſician; and that he might not be excell'd in Generoſity, he immediately ſent to *Rome* all the Priſoners without Ranſom, and again employ'd *Cineas* to negociate a Peace with 'em, being now more deſirous of their Alliance than ever: But whether the *Romans* believ'd their ſending home ſo many Priſoners, too great an Obligation from an Enemy, or too great a Reward for barely not doing Ill, they would not accept of 'em *gratis*, but immediately releas'd as many of the *Tarentines* and *Samnites*; and wou'd admit of no Debate of Alliance or Peace with *Pyrrhus*, till he had withdrawn his Forces from *Italy*, and ſail'd back to *Epirus* in the ſame Ships that brought him over. The King was much confounded at this, being very unwilling to continue this War, and much more to quit it diſhonourably; but in a ſhort time after he was reliev'd by an Expedition into *Sicily*, he being intreated by the Inhabitants to expel the *Carthaginians*, and clear the Iſland of Tyrants. This prov'd an honourable Pretence of drawing off his Forces, and leaving *Italy*; therefore ſending *Cineas* before, and putting a Garriſon into *Tarentum*, tho' much againſt their Wills, he embark'd for *Sicily* with an Army of 30000 Foot, and 2500 Horſe, after he had been in *Italy* two Years and four Months.

III. The Abſence of *Pyrrhus* gave the *Romans* much Reſpite, or at leaſt Leiſure enough to puniſh the *Samnites*, *Tarentines*, *Lucani*, and *Brutii*, whom they warr'd againſt with good Succeſs; they having little Hopes, but the Return of *Pyrrhus*, with whom they were very urgent, letting him to underſtand, *That they were ſhut up in their Towns, which cou'd hardly be maintain'd without his Aſſiſtance. Pyrrhus*, tho' he had

had been ſucceſsful enough, within two Years, was glad to have ſo ſpecious a Pretence of leaving *Sicily*, when his Carriage there had been ſo diſpleaſing to many, that in a ſhort time he muſt have left it with no other Pretence than Neceſſity and Self-preſervation. About the time of his Return, there happened ſuch a dreadful Plague in *Rome*, that *Cornelius Rufinus*, the laſt Year's Conſul, was created *Dictator*, for the Ceremony of driving a Nail into the Temple of *Jupiter*, which they by Tradition believ'd wou'd aſſwage the Diſtemper: And this was the third *Dictator* created upon this Account. The *Conſuls* for the following Year were *Curius Dentatus*, and *Cornelius Lentulus*; the former of which raiſing new Levies, was oppos'd by the People, who refus'd to liſt themſelves. *Curius*, reſolving to go through with his Deſigns, commanded the Name of every *Tribe* to be put into a Box; and the Lot falling upon the *Pollian Tribe*, the firſt that was drawn of that *Tribe* was cited; and not anſwering, he ſold his Goods; and upon his appealing to the *Tribunes*, he ſold the Man too, ſaying, *The Commonwealth ſtood in no need of ſuch a Member as refus'd all Obedience.* The *Tribunes* at that time did not aſſiſt the Fellow; and ever after that, if any refus'd to liſt himſelf in a juſt Muſter when commanded, it became a Cuſtom to make a Slave of him. *Dic.* liii. *U. C.* 477.

Pyrrhus, by this time, had with ſome Difficulty and Danger got from *Sicily* to *Tarentum* with an Army of 20000 Foot and 3000 Horſe, where increaſing his Army by new Levies, he march'd into *Samnium*, where the *Romans* had gather'd together a powerful Army, *Pyrrhus* divided his Forces into two Parts, whereof one he ſent into *Lucania* to hinder *Lentulus* from joining with his Collegue *Curius Dentatus*, againſt whom he directed his March, then advantageouſly poſted nigh *Beneventum*. *Pyrrhus* haſtning to attack him there before the other cou'd arrive, with the choiceſt of his Men and the fierceſt of his Elephants, march'd

in the Night-time towards the *Roman* Camp, hoping to ſurprize 'em; but paſſing through Woods, his Lights fail'd him, and his Men loſt their Way. Whereupon a Council of War being call'd, while they were in debate, and at the break of Day, his Approach was diſcover'd by the *Romans* as they march'd down the Hills, which put their whole Camp into much Diſorder and Fear; but recovering themſelves, *Curius* drew out his Troops in haſte, and falling in with the Van-guard of *Pyrrhus*, put him to flight, killing many Men, and taking ſome Elephants. This Succeſs very much diſcourag'd the reſt of *Pyrrhus*'s Troops, and *Curius* deſcending into the Plain, join'd Battel with the whole Army. In one Wing he repuls'd the Enemy, in the other, by the Violence of the Elephants, he was born back to his Trenches; where calling forth thoſe who guarded 'em, they from the high Places ſo ply'd the Beaſts with Darts and fired Pitch and Hemp, that they ran back upon their Friends, bearing down and breaking all their Ranks, ſo that the Victory fell to the *Romans*, *Pyrrhus* having loſt 23000 Men, according to *Eutropius*.

Pyrrhus's Camp was alſo taken, which was not only admir'd, but likewiſe prov'd of very great uſe afterwards; for anciently the *Romans* and the Nations about 'em were wont to pitch their Tents without Order, after the manner of Booths, in the midſt of their ſeveral Battalions; but *Pyrrhus* meaſuring out his Ground, encamp'd his whole Army within a Trench. By his Example the *Romans* receiv'd great Light and Experience as to Warlike Affairs, and afterwards adding ſuch things as they found neceſſary, they attain'd to the moſt abſolute Skill in Encamping, in ſucceeding times. *Curius Dentatus* obtain'd a moſt ſplendid Triumph for this Victory, being grac'd with four Elephants, 1300 Priſoners of ſeveral Nations, with ſeveral Implements of the *Tarentine* Luxury and Rarities. A few Days after, his Collegue tri-

umph'd

umph'd over the *Samnites* and *Lucani*: And this Year was remarkable for the *Cenſorſhip* of *Fabricius* and *Æmilius*, who remov'd *Rufinus*, and who had been twice *Conſul*, and once *Dictator*, out of the Senate, for having ten Pound of Silver Plate for the uſe of his Table: And in this *Luſtrum* 271224 Free Citizens were ceſs'd or poll'd. As for *Pyrrhus*, he bore his Defeat with undaunted Mind, and receiving Letters from *Greece* and *Aſia*, he call'd the *Epirots* and *Tarentines* together, telling them that Aſſiſtance would ſoon come; which Report kept the *Romans* in their Camp: And ſo taking this Advantage, the Night following he paſs'd undiſturb'd into *Epirus* with 8000 Foot and 500 Horſe, firſt leaving a Garriſon in *Tarentum*, which was more to preſerve his own Reputation than for any other Uſe. Thus in about ſix Years ended the Wars with the famous *Pyrrhus*, a Perſon eſteem'd the ableſt Commander of all the Kings in that time, both for Military Experience and Perſonal Valour; but he knew better how to Conquer than how to Keep; and from him the *Romans* did not only improve the Art of Encamping, but likewiſe learn'd to avoid Plains, and better to ſuſtain the Shock of a diſciplin'd Cavalry, which before they had deſpis'd.

IV. The *Roman* Name, which before had been famous, was now become formidable, after the Overthrow of ſo great Man as *Pyrrhus*, which made way for farther Conqueſts, and the Eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* Empire. In the ſecond Year after *Pyrrhus*'s Retreat, *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, King of *Egypt*, ſent Ambaſſadors to congratulate the *Roman* Succeſs, and to enter into an Alliance with 'em. The *Romans*, to ſhew him the greater Reſpect, likewiſe ſent Ambaſſadors to *Egypt*, where they were moſt courteouſly receiv'd, and ſent home laden with Gifts and Preſents. The following Year, the *Tarentines* not being able to remove the Garriſon *Pyrrhus* had left under *U. C.* 483.

Milo, desir'd Aid of the *Carthaginians*; and with them giving Battel to the *Romans*, were overthrown. *Milo*, sensible how unable he was to resist, by leave from the Consul *Papirus*, departed with his Men, and quitted the Castle, which the *Romans* possessing, easily became Masters of the City, the Walls whereof they demolish'd. Peace and Liberty were granted to all the Citizens; and this Year the two Consuls triumph'd, having finish'd both the *Tarentine* and *Samnite* Wars in the Year 481. The latter of these had, with some Intermissions, continu'd seventy one Years; and over these the *Romans* triumph'd thirty times, namely, *Consuls* twenty six, *Dictators* twice, and *Pro-Consuls* as many.

Now the *Romans* grew much too powerful for their Neighbours, for the greatest Part of *Italy* was now conquer'd, an Accession being made not only of the *Tarentines* and *Samnites*, but of the *Lucanians* also, and not long before of the *Hetrurians*. After this, the *Campanian* Legion, who had treacherously seiz'd upon *Rhegium*, and kept it to themselves, were besieg'd, and upon Surrender, put to death by fifty at a time. Soon after, the Inhabitants of *Apollonia* in *Illyricum* sending Ambassadors to *Rome*, some extravagant and unruly Noblemen fell upon 'em and beat 'em; but the *Romans* were so just as to deliver 'em up to the *Apolloniates*. In the same Year the *Picentes* were subdu'd, and Colonies were sent to *Arminium* in the Country of the *Piceni*, and to *Beneventum* in that of the *Samnites*. About the same time was Silver first coin'd in *Rome*, whereas Brass had only been in use till now, their Riches being increas'd by their Conquests, and large quantities of Silver were found in a Castle of the *Samnites*. A Year after, the *Sabines*, who some Years past had been made Denizons of *Rome*, receiv'd now also the Power of Voting in Elections. About four Years after that, the Number of the *Quæstors* were increas'd from four to eight; and in the same Year the Reduction of the *Umbri* and *Sallentini*, together with the City

U. C. 484.

Quæstors increas'd.

ty of *Brunduſium*, compleated the Conqueſt of all *Italy*.

Now were the *Roman* Dominions much larger than ever, containing the whole Body of old *Italy*, and the ſeveral *Italian* Nations, being about 500 Miles long, and 130 broad, which comprehended about one half of that Country which now goes by the Name of *Italy*, as was formerly obſerv'd. Juſt at the ſame time began the firſt *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War, in the 489th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3740, in the 4th Year of the 128th *Olympiad*, 244 ſince the beginning of the *Conſular State*, 125 ſince the Deſtruction of the City by the *Gauls*, 65 ſince the beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander* the Great, and 263 before our Saviour's Nativity. *U. C.* 489.

CHAP. IX.

From the Beginning of the firſt Punick *War, to the Beginning of the ſecond; the* Romans *now growing powerful by Sea as well as by Land.*

Containing the Space of 47 *Years.*

I. THE *Carthaginians* made up a very large and powerful Commonwealth, commanding moſt of that part of *Africa* which now goes by the general Name of *Barbary*; their Dominions extending about 2000 Miles in length, all bordering upon the Sea; having beſides the Iſlands of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, and the greateſt part of *Sicily*, with other leſſer Iſles. The Occaſion of the *Romans* War with this Nation, was, their joining with *Hiero* King of *Syracuſe* againſt the *Mamertines*, and for beſieging *Meſſana*, which oblig'd that People to ſend to *Rome* for Succour. The *Romans* had not forgot the *Carthaginians* aſſiſting the *Tarentines* againſt them not long before; and becauſe the former Carriage of the *Mamertines* was not eaſily juſtify'd, they made that their Pretence of their declaring War againſt the *Carthaginians*. And *Appius* *U. C.* 489.

Claudius, one of the Conſuls, was immediately ſent over to *Sicily* with an Army and a ſmall Fleet. With much Danger and Difficulty he paſs'd the Streights between *Italy* and *Sicily*, but with that Succeſs, that he rais'd the Siege of *Meſſana* in a ſhort time, and after that defeated both *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* in two ſeveral Battels. *Appius* return'd to *Rome* with a noble Triumph, which was the firſt that ever was obtain'd upon the Account of Foreign Actions. Notwithſtanding the great waſting of the People by continual Wars, 292224 Free Citizens were ceſs'd this Year; and in this Year *D. Junius Brutus* firſt brought in the Cuſtom of having Fencing-Matches perform'd by *Gladiators* at Funerals, a Cuſtom very much in uſe afterwards.

The following Year, both the Conſuls were order'd for *Sicily*, with all their Legions. And they manag'd the War ſo ſucceſsfully, that going to inveſt *Syracuſe* it ſelf, *Hiero* was affrighted into Obedience, perceiving that the *Romans* moſt probably wou'd be Conquerors; and ſo he made Peace upon theſe Terms, *To reſtore all their Priſoners without Ranſom, and to pay a hundred Talents of Silver.* The *Romans* more readily embrac'd the Alliance, becauſe the *Carthaginians* being Maſters at Sea, they cou'd not ſafely ſupply the Armies with Proviſions and Neceſſaries, expecting that he ſhou'd chiefly take care about that Affair. *Valerius*, one of this Year's Conſuls, from *Meſſana* had the Surname of *Meſſala*, who alſo having taken *Catana*, carry'd from thence a new Sun-dial to *Rome*, *Papirius Curſor* having 30 Years before ſet up the firſt that ever was in this City. This, tho' not perfect, the People made uſe of 99 Years, till *M. Philippus* the *Cenſor* ſet up a perfect one by it; and about that time, *Scipio Naſica* being *Cenſor*, firſt made the equal Diviſion of the Day into Hours, by Water dropping out of one Veſſel into another. This Year the City being much afflicted with a Peſtilence, a *Dictator* was created

created for the Ceremony of driving a Nail into *Jupiter*'s Temple: This was *Fulvius Maximus*, who made *Marcius Philippus* his *Master of the Horse*; and he was the fourth *Dictator* created upon this Account. *Dic.* liv. *U. C.* 490.

The *Romans*, by the Alliance with *Hiero*, found themselves so eas'd of the Burden of the War, that the following Year they sent but two Legions to *Sicily*; at which time *Agrigentum* was invested by the *Romans*; and *Annibal*, the *Carthaginian* Admiral, who came to relieve it, was overthrown by *Posthumius* and *Mamilius* the Consuls at Land; so after a long Siege it was taken. The News of this was very grateful to the Citizens of *Rome*, who had began to think of nothing less than the clearing of *Sicily*, and the Conquest of that Island; and to that they directed all their Counsels. On Land indeed they seem'd sufficiently prosperous, for the two succeeding Consuls manag'd the War with good Success; but the *Carthaginians* without Controversy being entire Masters at Sea, by that means, procur'd the Maritime Towns to revole to them: So that the War was not only balanc'd between the two Interests, but *Italy* was also grievously infested with the *Carthaginian* Fleet, while *Africk* was out of all danger. These Considerations caus'd 'em diligently to apply themselves to Sea-Affairs, of which they were wholly ignorant before; therefore they found it a Matter of extraorninary difficulty as well to build Vessels as to make use of 'em; for *Italy* had been as free from Shipwrights as from Seamen. Having thoroughly observ'd a *Carthaginian* Vessel or two driven ashore, they set about 100 Vessels of five Oars of a side, and 20 of three, which they fitted out as well as they cou'd, after an odd way teaching their Men to row upon dry Land; well knowing that their Courages must supply all other Defects.

Thus meanly rigg'd out, in the fourth Year of this War, the Consuls *Cornelius* and *Duilius* boldly ventur'd

themſelves abroad, and more boldly ventur'd to engage an Enemy, who for many Ages had been the Inheritors of the Dominions of the Sea, both by their Power and their Skill; a thing much admir'd by all Hiſtorians. *Cornelius* the Admiral parting from the reſt of his Company with 17 Gallies to reduce *Lipara*, was ſurpriz'd by a greater Number of the *Carthaginians*, and taken with the reſt of his Fleet. But his Collegue *Duilius* was much more ſucceſsful, firſt defeating 50 Sail of the Enemy, then falling upon the reſt of their Fleet, by the help of a new-invented Engine to grapple with their Veſſels, by which they cou'd board 'em, and fight as on Land, he obtain'd a ſignal Victory over 'em, taking 50 of their Veſſels; then purſuing it, rais'd the Siege of *Ægeſta*, and took *Marcella* by Storm. Theſe Succeſſes were ſo unexpected by the Senate, that they decreed *Duilius* unuſual Honours; for beſides his obtaining the Glory of the firſt Naval Triumph, he was ever after attended from Supper with Muſick and Flambeaus. *Annibal* on the other ſide, to ſecure himſelf from Puniſhment, with all ſpeed ſent one of his Friends to *Carthage* before the Battel was known here, who gave an Account to the Senate, that the *Romans* were under Sail with a great Fleet, and he wanted Inſtructions about engaging 'em. The Senate, upon this, gave Orders to fight without delay; to whom the Meſſenger reply'd, *That he had already fought, and was overthrown*; by which means he prevented their condemning an Action they had but juſt before approv'd of.

This Year the *Romans* had but ſmall Succeſs by Land, for a Breach between the Legions and the Auxiliaries occaſion'd a Separation; which Advantage *Amilcar*, the General of the *Carthaginian* Forces, ſo far improv'd, as to cut off 4000 of 'em. But the Advantage gain'd by Sea ſo far animated the *Romans*, that the following Year they invaded the Iſlands of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, and with ſo good Succeſs, that *Hanno* the

Carthaginian

Carthaginian General there, was ſlain, and his Army cut off by *Cornelius Scipio* the Conſul. This Victory was follow'd by another over *Annibal*; whom they ſurpriz'd at Sea, newly recruited from *Carthage*; for which the unfortunate Admiral was crucify'd by his own Soldiers that out-liv'd the Defeat. The next Year many Towns were loſt and gain'd in *Sicily* on both ſides; but above all, a noble Action of *Calpurnius Flemma*, a Tribune of the Army, was moſt remarkable; for *Attilius Calatinus* the Conſul, having careleſly brought his Army into ſuch a deſperate Place, as there was no hopes of eſcaping, *Calpurnius*, with 300 choice Men, poſſeſs'd themſelves of an Eminence juſt by, and with incredible Courage ſo diverted the whole Body of the *Carthaginians*, that the Conſul's Army had Opportunity in paſſing with little Oppoſition. *Calpurnius* was the only Perſon that ſurviv'd of the 300, being miſerably wounded, and cover'd with dead Bodies. The next Year, *Attilius Regulus* the Conſul ſubdu'd the Iſlands *Lipara* and *Melita*, the latter famous for the Shipwreck of St. *Paul*, and ſince call'd *Malta*: In which Year certain Prodigies in *Rome*, or the Belief of ſuch, occaſion'd the creating of a *Dictator*, *Dic.* Iv: for the celebrating the *Latin* Holy-days, which was *U. C.* *Ogulnius Gallus*, his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *Lætorius Plancianus*; and this was the ſecond *Dictator* created upon this Account. 490.

II. Now had this War continu'd eight Years; *U. C.* when the *Romans*, finding themſelves ſo ſtrong by Sea 497. as well as by Land, reſolv'd to remove the Seat of the War into *Africk*; and accordingly put to Sea with a Fleet of 330 Sail, under the Command of the Conſuls *Regulus* and *Manlius*. The *Carthaginians*, being ſenſible how neceſſary it was to keep the War from their own Walls, oppos'd 'em with a Fleet of 350 Sail, and a threefold Battel was fought on the ſame Day, in which the *Romans*, by the help of their Grapling

ling Engines, and their undaunted Courages, became Conquerors, taking 54 Ships, with all their Men, and sinking 30, losing themselves but 24 without their Men. In pursuance of this Victory, they made a Descent upon *Africk*, whose nighest Part was about 200 Miles from *Sicily*, and shortly after had *Clupea* surrender'd to 'em, a City seated upon the Promontory *Hermæa*. This done, they march'd into the Country, laying waste all before them, which they did without Opposition; but soon after they receiv'd Instructions from the *Senate*, that *Regulus* should remain in *Africk*, in Character of *Proconsul*, with 40 Ships, 15000 Foot, and 500 Horse, and *Manlius* should return to *Rome* with the remaining Forces. *Regulus* encamping upon the River *Bagrada*, was forc'd to engage a monstrous Serpent of a miraculous bigness, which, with the great Trouble of his Army, and by the help of the Battering-Engines, he slew, sending its Skin to *Rome*, which was 120 Foot long, according to *Livy* and *Gellius*.

The *Carthaginians* finding the *Romans* so successful, oppos'd *Regulus* with a considerable Army; but fighting in a Place where their Horse and Elephants cou'd do but little Service, were soon defeated, and *Tunetum*, or *Tunis*, in a short space was taken by *Regulus*. But the *Carthaginians* having procur'd *Xantippus*, a brave *Lacedæmonian*, for their General, soon after gave *Regulus* a dreadful Overthrow, he himself being taken Prisoner, and most of his Army cut off, the rest escaping to *Clupea*. But *Xantippus* met with more barbarous and ungrateful Usage than *Regulus*; for the *Carthaginians* pretending to conduct him home honourably, commanded the Seamen to throw him and his Companions over-board, lest so great a Victory shou'd be ascrib'd to the *Lacedæmonians*, as *Appian* relates it. The *Romans* were besieg'd in *Clupea*, till their Enemies perceiving the small probability of reducing 'em, broke up the Siege, and made all Preparations for

for the oppoſing the Succours ſent under *Æmilius Paulus* and *Fabius Nobilior*, the following Year's Conſuls. Theſe Conſuls putting to Sea with 350 Sail, were met by the *Carthaginians*, nigh their own Coaſts, whom they entirely defeated, taking 30 Ships, and ſinking 104, with the Loſs only of 9 of their own. After this, the Conſuls took in the *Roman* Garriſon from *Clupea*, and ſet Sail again for *Sicily*, expecting to have ſeveral Towns there ſurrender'd to 'em upon the News of this Victory; but before they cou'd make the Shore, there aroſe ſuch a dreadful Storm, that moſt of their Ships were ſwallow'd up, or ſplit upon Rocks; ſo that the Shore was fill'd with dead Bodies and broken Pieces of Ships. Both the Conſuls periſh'd, and thoſe few that eſcap'd, *Hiero* kindly receiv'd; and furniſhing 'em with Clothes and other Neceſſaries, convey'd 'em ſafe to *Meſſana*.

Karthalo the *Carthaginian* immediately taking Advantage of this great Misfortune, beſieg'd *Agrigentum*, and ſoon after took it, and demoliſh'd the Fortifications of it. The *Romans*, nothing diſcourag'd at the great Loſſes ſuſtain'd by the Tempeſt, immediately ſet about building 220 Veſſels, which they proſecuted with that extraordinary Diligence and Expedition, that in three Months time they were both built and launch'd. On the other ſide, *Aſdrubal* the *Carthaginian*, with his Veterane Troops and Levies, arriv'd at *Sicily*, with a Fleet of 200 Sail old and new. The Conſuls *Attilius* and *Cornelius* being order'd for *Sicily* this Year, manag'd the War ſo proſperouſly, as to take ſeveral Towns; after which they return'd. Their Succeſſors *Servilius* and *Sempronius*, in the following Spring, paſs'd into *Sicily* with the whole Fleet, and from thence to *Africk*, where, coaſting about, they landed in many Places, but perform'd nothing very memorable. At laſt they touch'd upon the Iſland of the *Lotophagi*, call'd *Meninx*, nigh the *Leſſer Syrtis*; where, being ignorant of theſe Coaſts, they fell upon certain

certain Quick-ſands; but getting off with much difficulty, they return'd to *Panormus* in *Sicily* in a flying Poſture. Then ſailing for *Rome*, through the Streights, very unadviſedly, they were taken in a Storm, and 150 of the Ships loſt. This ſame Year the Cenſors, calling over the *Senate*, turn'd out thirteen Members for Miſdemeanors, and performing the *Luſtrum*, 297797 Free Citizens were poll'd.

Tho' the Senate and People of *Rome* were extremely vigorous in all great Attempts, being puſh'd on by an extraordinary Deſire of Glory; yet the Loſſes at Sea had now been ſo great and numerous, that they were conſtrain'd to omit Naval Preparations, and place all their Hopes in their Land-Forces. *Cæcilius* and *Metellus* were ſent into *Sicily* with the Legions, and 60 Tranſport-Veſſels, only for Neceſſaries; and they did not only yield the Dominion of the Sea to the *Carthaginians*, but fear'd 'em alſo at Land, by reaſon of their great Preparations, but eſpecially for their Elephants, which had oftentimes much annoy'd 'em. *Aſdrubal*, the *Punick* General, underſtanding their Fears, and that one of the Conſuls was now return'd into *Italy* with half the Army, with great Aſſurance and Confidence ravag'd all the Country about *Panormus*, and with the more Care'eſneſs and Security, becauſe *Metellus* kept himſelf within the Walls. But the Conſul taking an Opportunity, ſo well plac'd his Men againſt the Elephants, that when *Aſdrubal* came nigh the Town, he gave him a dreadful Overthrow, killing 20000 Men, and taking 26 Elephants; for which he had a noble Triumph. The *Carthaginians* immediately loſt all *Sicily* except *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*, to the former of which Places *Aſdrubal* eſcap'd; but being condemn'd at *Carthage*, he was taken and put to death as ſoon as he return'd; the unhappy Fate of many *Carthaginian* Generals.

U. C. 502. III. The *Carthaginians* now finding themſelves great Loſers

Loſers, and weary'd out with a tedious War, which had now continu'd 14 Years, began to ſollicit for Peace, and ſent to the Senate to treat about it: With the Ambaſſadors, *Regulus* alſo was ſent, who had been five Years Priſoner, and was now bound with an Oath to return to *Carthage*, in caſe there was no Peace nor Exchange of Priſoners made. *Regulus*, contrary to the Expectation of all, openly in the Senate diſcover-ed the Weakneſs of the *Carthaginians*, and advis'd the *Romans* to make no Peace; ſhewing withal, *both how honourable and profitable it might be to the State to proſecute the War.* The Senate ſeem'd well ſatisfy'd with the Advice, if it were to be follow'd without Prejudice to the Adviſer, whom they pity'd as well as admir'd, and cou'd not determine any thing to the Ruin of a Perſon who had deſerv'd ſo well at their Hands. Upon that account they deſir'd him to ſtay; but he, with an undaunted Reſolution, told 'em, *That he knew that Death and the extremeſt Tortures were preparing for him at* Carthage, *but ſtill he could not comply with their Requeſts, who might have better us'd their Commands, had he been ſtill his Country's Servant, as he was* Africk's *Slave, and upon that account not capable of living as became a Citizen of* Rome: *Yet however he had ſo much of the true Spirit of a* Roman, *that he cou'd do nothing that was baſe or diſhonourable; and that he leſs fear'd the Tortures of a cruel Rack, than the Shame of an infamous Action, for the former only touch'd the Body, whereas the latter pierc'd the Mind.*

All means were uſed to perſuade *Regulus* to ſtay, both by his Friends and others, which he avoided as much as poſſible, refuſing to ſpeak with his Wife, and ſhunning the Embraces and Kiſſes of his little Children: And when the Negotiation was at an end, he return'd to *Carthage*, there ending his Days in great Torments, For, firſt they cut off his Eye-lids, keeping him in a dark Dungeon for a while, then brought him out in the midſt of the Day, with his Face

Face turn'd full againſt the Sun: At laſt he was put into a Cheſt or Barrel, ſtuck with Nails with the Points inward, and ſo narrow, that he cou'd have no Eaſe, where he died with the Extremity of the Pain. When the Senate heard of the barbarous Uſage of *Regulus*, in great Rage they deliver'd up ſome Priſoners of the higheſt Note and Quality to *Marcia* his Wife, who ſhut 'em up in an Armory ſtuck round with Iron Spikes, deſigning to torment them after the ſame manner that her Husband had been, and keeping 'em five Days together without Meat; in which time *Boſtar* the *Carthaginian*, with Pain and Hunger, died; but *Hamilcar*, being a ſtronger Man, was kept in, together with the dead Body of *Boſtar*, five Days longer, having only ſo much Suſtenance allow'd him as might ſerve to prolong his Life in Miſery. At laſt, the Magiſtrates being inform'd of this, began to relent, and ſtrictly forbid any more ſuch Uſage, commanding that *Boſtar*'s Aſhes ſhou'd be ſent home, and the reſt of the Priſoners ſhou'd be us'd more moderately: Which was done to let the Enemy know, *That the* Romans *were too generous to inſult over the Miſeries of unhappy Men, or to countenance any cruel Actions, tho' they had been incited by the higheſt Provocations, and all the Sentiments of a moſt juſt Retaliation.*

The following Year, becauſe the Land-Forces were very fearful of the Enemies Elephants, and purſu'd their Affairs with ſmall Vigour, the *Romans* provided another Fleet, and beſieg'd *Lilybæum* by Sea and Land, a Town ſtanding upon the Southern Promontory of *Sicily*, over againſt *Africk*. The *Romans* were very unſucceſsful in this Expedition, loſing moſt of their Ships in a ſhort time, partly by the Miſmanagement of the Conſul *Claudius Pulcher*, and partly by other Misfortunes; ſo that the whole Fleet was ſoon reduc'd to an inconſiderable Number. *Lilybæum* was ſtill cloſely inveſted by Land; but the ſmall Succeſſes of the preſent Conſuls, and other Loſſes, occaſion'd

the

the creating of a *Dictator* to command the Forces in *Sicily*: This was *Attilius Calatinus* who appointed *Cacilius Metellus*, who had triumph'd over the *Carthaginians*, for his *Master of the Horse*, and was the first *Dictator* that ever led an Army out of *Italy*; but nothing memorable was acted by him in *Sicily* before the Time of his Office expir'd. The *Romans* now began to feel the Weight and Charge of the War more than ever; and they found that the City was not only drain'd of Money, but of Men too: For in the next *Lustrum* there were but 251222 Free Citizens poll'd. *Dic.* lvi. *U. C.* 504.

For seven Years did the *Romans* abstain from any Sea-Preparations, in which time another *Dictator* was created in the Consul's Absence for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election, which was *Coruncanius Nepos*, and his *Master of the Horse* was *Fulvius Flaccus*. At this time *Amilcar*, the *Carthaginian* Admiral, extremely infested the Coasts of *Italy*, which made the *Romans* resolve once more to try their Fortune at Sea; and accordingly they fitted out a considerable Navy out of their private Purses, the Treasury being now exhausted. With this they gave the *Carthaginians* a notable Overthrow nigh the *Ægatian* Isles, taking and sinking 120 of their Ships, according to the most modest Computation. This great Loss brought 'em to a Peace, which, after two Consultations, was concluded upon these Articles; First, *That the* Carthaginians *shou'd lay down* 1000 *Talents of Silver, and* 2200 *more within* 10 *Years time*: Secondly, *That they shou'd quit* Sicily; *with all the Isles thereabouts*: Thirdly, *That they shou'd never make War upon the* Syracusians, *or their Allies, nor come with any Vessels of War within the* Roman *Dominions*: And Fourthly, *That they shou'd deliver up all their Prisoners without Ransom, as also the Deserters.* Thus ended the first *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War, by the *Greek* Writers call'd the *Cicilian* War, after it had continu'd 24 Years, in the 513th Year of the City, 23 Years before the Second, and 249 before our Saviour's Nativi- *Dic.* lvii. *U. C.* 510.

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ty; wherein the *Romans* are said to have lost 700 Vessels, and the *Carthaginians* no more than 500.

U. C. 513. *Tribes* increas'd the last time.

IV. All Affairs now seem'd to succeed prosperously with the *Romans*, and in the same Year that this long War was ended, two new *Tribes* were added to the rest, namely, the *Veline* and *Quirine*, which now made up the Number 35, which Number was never after exceeded. At this time the *Romans* began to grow more polite, a little applying their Minds to something of Study and Learning, particularly *Poetry*; and the Year after this War, the first *Tragedies* and *Comedies* were made by *Livius Andronicus*, a *Grecian* by Birth, one Year before *Ennius* the Poet was born, about 160 after the Deaths of *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, and 62 after that of *Menander*. He drew the Minds of the People from the Use of the *Satyr*, which had immediately succeeded the old *Stage-Plays*, call'd *Ludi Fescennini*, spoken of in the Sixth Chapter of this Book; which *Satyr* was a sort of a *Drammatick* Poem, full of Jests and Raillery, wholly different from the *Satyrs* of *Lucilius* and *Horace* afterwards. *Nævius* was the first Poet that follow'd his Example, five Years after, the Year before which were celebrated the great *Secular Games* the third time, which were also call'd *Ludi magni*, and *Ludi Tarentini*, and were of two sorts; the Greater, celebrated every 120 Years, and first instituted in the 298th Year of the City; and the Lesser, celebrated every 100 Years, and first instituted about the 305th Year of the City, after the Banishment of the *Decemviri*: But these now celebrated were of the former sort. There were also other Games call'd *Ludi Tarentini*, which were very different from the *Ludi Sæculares*, which I mention that Learners may avoid Confusion.

U. C. 514. First *Tragedies* and *Comedies* in *Rome*.

Ludi Sæculares.

But to return to the *Roman* Affairs; the *Carthaginians*, soon after their Peace with the *Romans*, fell into a bloody War between themselves and their Mercenary

nary Soldiers, which proceeded both from their Want of Pay, and their Want of Employment; and this, with much Difficulty and Loſs, was ended by *Amilcar*, after more than three Years. During which time, ſeveral of the *Romans* who traded into *Africk*, were ſecur'd by the *Carthaginians*, leſt they ſhou'd furniſh their Enemies with Proviſions. But when Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Carthage* to complain of this Uſage, they kindly diſmis'd all that were in Cuſtody; which ſo affected the *Romans*, that they generouſly ſent 'em all their Priſoners without Ranſom, and for a ſhort Space there ſeem'd to be an extraordinary Friendſhip between theſe two Nations. But ſoon after their Troubles were ended, the *Sardinians* inviting over the *Romans* to that Iſland, they ſail'd thither, which much offended the *Carthaginians*, who thought themſelves to have the greateſt Right to it; ſo they prepar'd ro ſend Forces thither. The *Romans* took an Occaſion from thence to proclaim War againſt 'em, complaining, *That theſe Preparations were deſign'd more againſt them, than the* Sardinians. This ſo terrify'd the *Carthaginians*, who found themſelves in no Condition to begin a new War, that they were forc'd to yield to Neceſſity, and not only quit all *Sardinia*, but farther, to pay the *Romans* 1200 Talents. This, tho' ſubmitted to at preſent, prov'd afterwards the Occaſion of a more bloody and dangerous War than the former. In the ſixth Year after the *Carthaginian* War, the *Romans* being in perfect Peace with all their Neighbours, the Temple of *Janus* was ſhut the ſecond time, it having been open 437 Years. In the following Year was the firſt Divorce in *Rome*; and two Years after a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia*, and this was *C. Duilius*, his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *Aurelius Cotta*. *Dic.* lviii. *U. C.* 522.

For five Years ſucceſſively the Temple of *Janus* continu'd ſhut, and in the ſixth was open'd by a War with the *Illyrians*, a People nigh *Greece*, who inhabited

that Country which is now call'd *Dalmatia*: For *Teuta* Queen of that Nation, elevated by her Prosperity in Peace, gave her Subjects Commission to rob all they met with at Sea; some of which happen'd to be Merchants of *Italy*, whom they used very barbarously. Upon Intelligence of this, the *Romans* dispatch'd two Ambassadors, *Caius* and *Lucius Coruncanus*, to *Illyricum* to demand Satisfaction. *Teuta* told 'em, *That she would take care that no publick Injury shou'd be offer'd to the* Romans; *but she thought it was never the Custom of Princes to hinder their Subjects from making what private Advantage they cou'd from the Sea.* But *Lucius* smartly told her, *That the* Romans *had learn'd a better Custom, which was, to punish Private Injuries with a Publick Revenge, and to relieve the Distressed; and they, by the Help of the Gods, wou'd take care to reform her Princely Customs.* The Queen took this Freedom so heinously, that, contrary to the Law of Nations, she sent after the Ambassadors and slew *Lucius*. This so enrag'd the *Romans*, that War was immediately proclaim'd against her, and the two Consuls sent to *Illyricum*, *Fluvius* with a Fleet, and *Posthumius* with a Land Army. *Fluvius* had *Corcyra* surrender'd to him at his first Appearance before it, and soon after took *Apollonia*; then the Armies joining, the Consuls reliev'd *Dyrrachium*, which was invested by the *Illyrians*. Soon after most of the *Illyrick* Towns were surrender'd to the Consuls; whereupon the Queen retir'd with a few Followers to *Rhizon*, a strong Town, and the Spring after sent to *Rome* to beg Peace, which was grannted upon these Terms: First, *To pay a yearly Tribute*: Secondly, *To quit all* Illyricum, *except a very few Places*: And, Thirdly, *Not to sail beyond the River* Lissus *with more than two Barks, and those unarm'd.* Thus ended the first *Illyrian* War, in less than two Years Time.

V. These Wars in *Illyricum* still inlarg'd the *Roman* Dominions, and their generous Behaviour gain'd 'em

'em as much Love as their Valour had got 'em Reputation in thoſe Parts, particularly among the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*; the latter of which paſs'd a Decree in Honour of 'em, which made 'em free of the *Iſthmian* Games, one of the Four Solemn Exerciſes of *Greece*. And this ſame Year were the *Prætors* increas'd to Four, one being ſent to the Province of *Sicily*, and another to that of *Sardinia*. In the mean time Domeſtick Diſturbances about the Diviſion of Lands taken from the *Gauls*, awaken'd that Nation, who concluding, that the *Romans* fought more out of Covetouſneſs than Glory, began that War, which the *Latin* Hiſtorians call'd *Bellum Gallicum Ciſalpinum*. Theſe fierce People, now join'd in Confederacy, ſent over the *Alps* for other *Gauls*, call'd *Geſſatæ*, nigh the River *Rhoſne*, who came over with a prodigious Force, and joining with the reſt, made an Irruption into *Hetruria*, with an Army of 50000 Foot and 20000 Horſe. The *Romans*, to oppoſe 'em, made the greateſt Preparations that had been known, all *Italy* being up in Arms, to the Number of Seven or Eight hundred thouſand Men, which were plac'd in ſeveral Parts to be in readineſs upon all Occaſions: And the Conſuls themſelves led a particular Army of 50800 Foot, and 4200 Horſe.

Prætors increas'd. *U. C.* 527.

The *Gauls* now entring *Hetruria*, waſted all with Fire and Sword till they came to *Cluſium*, about three Days Journey from *Rome*; where they were block'd upon by the *Romans*, the *Prætor* on their Back, and the *Conſuls* before, poſſeſſing themſelves of all the Paſſes, inſomuch that they were forc'd to form two Fronts, and fight very diſadvantageouſly, both by reaſon of their Nakedneſs, and the Unfitneſs of their Arms. But the Vanity of the *Geſſatæ* prov'd the moſt injurious to 'em, for they throwing off all their Clothes, would needs fight naked, and began the firſt Charge; and theſe being eaſily broken, ſo diſcourag'd the reſt; that all fled. The *Gauls* were miſerably ſlaughter'd,

U. C. 529.

40000 of 'em being kill'd, and 10000 taken Priſoners; among the reſt, *Concolitanus*, a King of the *Geſſatæ*. The Conſuls obtain'd a moſt ſplendid Triumph for this Victory, ſcarce any being more remarkable for the Number of the Priſoners, or the Variety and Value of the Spoils. The next Year great Inroads were made into the Territories of the *Gauls*, they being ſeveral times overthrown: At which time the *Conſuls* being abroad, a *Dictator* was created to hold
Dic. lix. the *Comitia* for a new Election; which was *Cæcilius*
U. C. *Metellus*, and *Fabius Buteo* his *Maſter of the Horſe*, or
530. Lieutenant.

The *Gauls* were now ſo harraſs'd and weakned, that they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* to beg Peace on any Terms; but *Claudius Marcellus* and *Cornelius Scipio* put a ſtop to that Affair, and ſtirr'd up the Multitude to continue the War. Whereupon the *Gauls*, now grown deſperate, reſolv'd to make their laſt Efforts, and procur'd 30000 Auxiliaries from the *Geſſatæ*. The Conſuls march'd into the Country of the *Inſubres*, and open'd the Campaign with the Siege of *Acerræ*; whereupon the *Gauls* inveſted *Claſtidium*, a Confederate Town of the *Romans*. *Marcellus*, with two Thirds of his Cavalry, and a ſmall Detachment of light-arm'd Footmen, march'd both Night and Day towards the Enemy; and notwithſtanding the great Inequality of the Numbers, and the extraordinary Fatigue of the long Marches, he fell upon 'em, and after a bloody Battel overthrew 'em. *Marcellus*
U. C. with his own Hands kill'd *Virdomarus* King of the
532. *Geſſatæ*, and dedicated the third *Opima Spolia*, or Royal Spoils, to *Jupiter Feretrius*, obtaining likewiſe a noble Triumph. Thoſe that eſcap'd fled to *Mediolanum*, now call'd *Milan*, the chief City of the *Inſubrian Gauls*, which being ſhortly after taken, the *Gallick* War was ended, after ſix Years continuance, to the conſiderable Enlargement of the *Roman* Dominions, Colonies being planted not long after at *Cremona*, and at *Placentia*.

About

About this time, a multitude of *Libertini* or Freed Slaves, which liv'd diſpers'd among all the *Tribes*, gave great Diſturbances to the City, which occaſion'd the *Cenſors* at the next *Luſtrum* to confine all theſe to four *Tribes*, namely, *Eſquilina*, *Palatina*, *Suburrana*, and *Collina*: At which time were alſo 270213 Free Citizens ceſs'd. In the ſame Cenſorſhip *C. Flaminius*, one of the Cenſors, built a *Cirque*, and pav'd the High-way as far as *Arminium*, 130 Miles, both which great Works were afterwards call'd by his Name. Within a Year after, the *Illyrians* revolting, were reduc'd by *Æmilius* and *Livius* the Conſuls, tho' with ſome Difficulty and Trouble. But the greateſt Concern the *Romans* had now, was the ſucceſsful Progreſs of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, who now had gain'd a great part of that Country, and more than all, had taken *Saguntus*, a Town in Alliance with *Rome*, after they were deſir'd to deſiſt. This caus'd the *Romans* to ſend their Ambaſſadors to *Carthage*, to require their General *Hannibal* to be deliver'd up, and if that were not granted, to denounce War. The Ambaſſadors finding the *Carthaginians* very little inclin'd to give any Satisfaction, the Senior of 'em holding out the Skirt of his Robe, told the Senate, *Here we bring you War or Peace; chuſe which you pleaſe.* The chief of the other anſwer'd, *Deliver which you will:* The *Roman* replying, *War*; the other accepted of it. And thus began the ſecond *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War, 23 Years after the firſt, in the 536th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3787, in the third Year of the 140th *Olympiad*, 291 Years ſince the Beginning of the *Conſular State*, 172 ſince the Deſtruction of the City by the *Gauls*, 112 ſince the Beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander*, and 216 before our Saviour's Nativity. *U. C.* 534.

CHAP. X.

From the Beginning of the Second Punick *War, to the Finiſhing of it by* Scipio Africanus; *when the* Romans *became perfect in the Arts of War.*

Containing the Space of 17 Years.

U. C. 536. I. THE War being broke out a ſecond time between theſe two Rival Nations, the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, the latter committing the Management of it to *Hannibal*, *Amilcar*'s Son, now in *Spain*, a Perſon of wonderful Abilities as to War, both for Conduct and Valour, of a hardy, laborious, and indefatigable Body, as well as fierce, daring, and undaunted Mind. This General had ſworn himſelf a mortal Enemy to the *Romans*; and having over-run all *Spain* to the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, he reſolv'd to run any Danger or Hazard, ſo he might procure the Ruin of the *Roman* State; therefore leaving *Hanno* with a ſufficient Force to guard that Country, he croſs'd the *Pyrenæan* Mountains into *Gaul*, with an Army of 50000 Foot, and 9000 Horſe, of different Nations and Languages. From whence he ſhortly paſs'd the *Rhoſne* with great Danger and Difficulty, the River there being ſwift and ſpacious, and its Banks cover'd with many and dangerous Enemies. In ten Days March from thence, he arriv'd at the Foot of the *Alps*, over which he reſolv'd to paſs into *Italy*, notwithſtanding the lateneſs of the Seaſon, the Fears of his Men, his Ignorance of the Ways, the Labour of the March, and all the numerous Perils and Hazards that attended ſo vaſt an Enterprize.

It was now in the midſt of Winter, and every thing appear'd ſtrange and dreadful, the prodigious Height of the Mountains, cap'd with Snows; the rude

rude miſ-ſhapen Cottages on the Sides of craggy ſteep Rocks; the Cattel, Sheep, and Horſes, parch'd and ſtiff with Cold; the People barbarous, and with long ſhagg'd Hair like Savages, and nothing to be ſeen but a general Scene of Deformity and Horrour. The Soldiers in this March, beſides their Fears, were extremely afflicted with the Greatneſs of the Colds, and grievouſly harraſs'd by the narrow Defiles, the ſlippery Paſſages, and the craggy Rocks, but more eſpecially by the Inhabitants, who, from their Lurking-places, fell often upon 'em with great Slaughter; and ſometimes by their unuſual Shouts and Out-cries, which were redoubl'd by the Echoes between the Rocks and Valleys, their Horſes were ſo affrighted as they frequently overthrew themſelves, Men, and Carriages, down theſe narrow Precipices, who falling from one Rock to another, made a dreadful Rumbling, as if it were the Fall of ſome Caſte or great Building. Nevertheleſs, after nine Days painful March thro' theſe untrodden Paths, *Hannibal* at laſt gain'd the Top of theſe vaſt Mountains, where he refreſh'd his Men, and encourag'd their fainting Minds by a diſtant Proſpect of *Italy*, telling 'em, *That now, like hardy Soldiers, they had mounted not only the Walls of* Italy, *but thoſe of* Rome *too.*

After two Days Reſpite among theſe diſmal Places, the Army mov'd forward, and were forc'd to encounter with new Difficulties; for prodigious Quantities of Snow being lately fallen, as many Men were loſt in the Depth of that, as had been before by the Enemies Encounters. And now a ſort of Deſpair appear'd in almoſt every Man's Face but *Hannibal*'s, who ſtill remain'd ſteady and unſhaken, inciting 'em forward till they arriv'd at a Place, which was a rocky Precipice, where the Earth had lately fallen away to the Depth of 1000 Foot; ſo that it was impoſſible to paſs with Elephants or Horſes. Whereupon he endeavour'd to bring his Men through other unknown

Ways; but finding the Snow had made 'em impaſſable, he was forc'd to betake himſelf to the levelling the Rock. In order to that, great Numbers of huge Trees were fell'd, and a mighty Pile made againſt it, and ſet on Fire; when the Rock was red hot, they ſoftned and putrefy'd it with Vinegar, as *Livy* relates it, and then with wonderful Labour cleav'd it, leſſening the Deſcent by ſuch moderate Turnings, that not only the Beaſts of Burden, but the Elephants alſo, might ſafely paſs. Four Days indefatigable Toil was employ'd about this Rock, the Beaſts the mean while being almoſt ſtarv'd, having had very little Suſtenance all that Time. But coming lower, certain Valleys afforded Paſture, where the Cattle were refreſh'd, and Reſt allow'd the weary Soldiers. From thence *Hannibal* deſcended into the Plains, having been fifteen Days in paſſing the *Alps*, it being now the fifth Month after his ſetting out from *New Carthage*, which was a City built by *Aſdrubal* in *Spain*. At his Arrival in the Country of the *Inſubres*, he found his Army reduc'd to about 18000 Foot, and 6000 Horſe, according to *Polybius*, having loſt moſt of 'em upon the *Alps*.

Scipio the Conſul hearing of *Hannibal*'s March, haſten'd to meet him before his Men were well refreſh'd. Both Armies met at *Ticinum* (now *Pavia*) in which Battel the Conſul being wounded, was ſav'd by the great Valour of his young Son, afterwards call'd *Africanus*, and in a few Hours was defeated, eſpecially by the Means of the *Numidian* Cavalry, who unexpectedly fell upon his Rear. Soon after this Defeat, *Sempronius*, the other Conſul, out of *Sicily*, join'd *Scipio* at the River *Trebia*. *Sempronius* having been ſucceſsful in ſome Skirmiſhes, reſolv'd to give the Enemy Battel, before too many of the *Gauls* were join'd him, tho' *Scipio* was much againſt it, who was now laid up of his Wounds. *Hannibal* knowing the *Gauls* to be all at his Devotion, and finding his own Men freſh and vigorous, endeavour'd at nothing more than

than a Battel. Upon the nigh Approach of theſe Armies, *Hannibal* convey'd 1000 choice Horſe into a private Place, and another Party he ſent to brave the *Romans* before they cou'd provide againſt the Extremity of the Weather by Meat or Drink; ſo that engaging with Cold and Hunger, paſſing the River up to the Arm-pits, and being unexpectedly charg'd both in Front and Rear, they were entirely defeated, tho' not without great Slaughter of the Enemy, through whoſe Ranks 10000 deſperately broke, and eſcap'd to *Placentia*, 26000 being either ſlain, taken, or drown'd in the River. The *Carthaginians* having done what they were able in purſuing, retir'd to the Camp ſo ſtupefy'd with Cold, that they were ſcarcely ſenſible of their Victory; for Rain mixt with Snow, and intolerable Cold, kill'd many of their Men, and almoſt all their Beaſts and Elephants. Thus *Hannibal* was now as ſucceſsful in his Battels, as before he had been daring in his Marches, the *Romans* never having met with a more formidable Enemy, or a more expert General.

II. The Loſs of theſe two Battels caus'd the *Romans* to be more diligent in their Preparations for the next Campaign; for the Managing of which, *C. Flaminius* and *Servilius Geminus* were choſen Conſuls: The former of theſe had a good Faculty of Speaking, but no great Skill in War. *Hannibal* having all this while kept in the Country of the *Gauls*, where he had recruited and ſtrengthned his Army, now reſolv'd to change the Seat of the War, and march into *Hetruria*; and after ſome Conſultation about the Way thither, he fixt upon that of the Fens, as ſhort and unexpected to the Enemy, tho' far more difficult to paſs. Here they found a miſerable Paſſage, being forc'd to march three or four Days and Nights thro' nothing but Water, without any Sleep or Reſt, which ſorely diſtreſs'd his Men; many of the Beaſts were left dead in the Mud, and *U. C.* 537.

and the Hoofs came off the Horſes Feet. *Hannibal* himſelf riding upon an Elephant, which was the only one left alive, eſcap'd with his Life, but got intolereble Pains in his Eyes, and loſt one of them entirely. Being at laſt arrived upon dry Ground, and underſtanding *Flaminius*'s fiery Temper, the better to entrap him, he paſs'd by his Camp, and march'd farther into the Country, waſting it with Fire and Sword. This enrag'd *Flaminius*, who thought himſelf ſlighted and deſpis'd by the Enemy; and when he was advis'd by ſome *to uſe great Caution, and not raſhly purſue, eſpecially by Reaſon of the Enemies Cavalry, but above all things to ſtay for the Conjunction of his Colleague's Forces*, he cou'd by no Means bear their Words; but riſing with all his Troops, he began his March, as if nothing had been more certain than the Victory, his Army being follow'd with a great Number of Rabble laden with Chains, Bonds, and the like, for the Priſoners and Booty.

Hannibal was now at a Lake call'd *Thraſymene*, nigh which were certain Mountains, and between them and the Lake was a narrow Paſſage leading to a Valley juſt by, encompaſs'd with a Ridge of Hills. Theſe Hills *Hannibal* made choice of, placing and diſpoſing his Men round about, ſo that when *Flaminius* follow'd him into the Valley, he was immediately hemm'd in, and attack'd on all Sides, to the cutting off of his whole Army, and the Loſs of his own Life; and this was done almoſt before they cou'd ſee who engag'd 'em, by reaſon of a Miſt which was riſen from the Lake. About 15000 of the *Romans* fell in the Valley, and 6000 eſcap'd to a Village, where they were forc'd to yield themſelves Priſoners. *Hannibal* gathering all his Priſoners together, to the Number of 15000, kept the *Romans*, but diſmiſs'd the *Latins* without Ranſom; and he ſought alſo for the Conſul's Body to bury it, but cou'd not find it. *Servilius*, the other Conſul, who lay at *Ariminum*, having Intelligence of

of *Hannibal*'s March into *Hetruria*, with all ſpeed detach'd a Party of 4000 Men, commanded by *Centinius*, to join *Flaminius*, if poſſible, before the Battel. *Hannibal* hearing of this Supply, immediately after his Victory, detach'd out a ſufficient Party under *Maherbal*, who cut off one half of the *Romans*, and forc'd the reſt to a Hill, where they yielded themſelves Priſoners.

The *Romans* were now in a great Conſternation at theſe vaſt Loſſes, and upon mature Deliberation, they found it neceſſary to have a General with abſolute authority; whereupon they reſolv'd upon a *Dictator*, which was *Fabius Maximus*, a Perſon of extraordinary Wiſdom and Experience, in whom was a happy mixture of Caution and Boldneſs. He made choice of *Minutius Rufus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, who was of a Temper more hot and violent than himſelf. Having made what Preparations he was able, he ſet forward to meet *Hannibal*, with little Intention to fight him, but rather to wait his Motions, to ſtraiten his Quarters, and cut off his Proviſions, which he knew wou'd be the moſt effectual way to ruin him, in a Country ſo far from his own. He always encamp'd on the higheſt Grounds, free from the Inſults of the Enemies Cavalry, ſtill keeping pace with 'em; when they march'd, he follow'd 'em; when they encamp'd, he did the ſame, but at ſuch a diſtance as not to be forc'd to engage; by which means he gave them no Reſt, but kept 'em in a continual Alarm. This cautious way of proceeding, which got him the Name of *Cunctator*, made moſt Men ſuſpect his Courage, except *Hannibal* himſelf, who was extremely troubled and inraged at it, uſing all poſſible Artifices to make *Fabius* and his Actions become deſpicable; ſometimes by braving him in his Camp, and other times by waſting the Country round him. Soon after, *Hannibal* deſigning for *Caſinum*, was by a Miſtake conducted to *Caſilinum* nigh *Campania*, where

Dic. 1x. *U. C.* 537.

where entring a Valley environ'd with Mountains, *Fabius* detach'd 4000 choice Men who poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Entrance, and with another Party cut off 800 of his Rear, putting his whole Army into ſome Diſorder. *Hannibal* finding himſelf block'd up, and in a dangerous Condition, one Night he order'd ſmall Faggots and lighted Torches to be ty'd to the Horns of 2000 Oxen, which by their toſſing their Horns, and ſcattering the Fires, ſo frighted the Party that guarded the Entrance, that they quitted their Poſts; and by this Stratagem *Hannibal* drew off his Army, and eſcap'd, tho' with conſiderable Damage to his Rear.

This Action, tho' excellently well manag'd by *Fabius*, procur'd many Complaints againſt him; and *Hannibal*, to improve their Hatred, ravag'd the Country about, but carefully ſpar'd *Fabius*'s Lands, to render him ſuſpected of a ſecret Correſpondence with him. Theſe Suſpicions, and *Fabius*'s want of Courage, as his Men believ'd, prov'd ſo prejudicial to him, that in his Abſence ſoon after, *Minutius*, his *Maſter of the Horſe*, having skirmiſh'd with ſome Succeſs, procur'd ſo much Favour from the Multitude, that his Power was made equal with the *Dictator*'s; which was a thing beyond all Example. *Minutius* was ſo exalted with his late Succeſſes and this new Honour, that he reſolv'd, contrary to all the Perſwaſions of *Fabius*, to engage *Hannibal* with his Part of his Army, which he did; where he was cunningly drawn in by *Hannibal* to a diſadvantageous Place, and was in great danger of being intirely defeated, when *Fabius*, who had been a careful Obſerver of this Action from an Eminence in his Camp, came in, and falling upon the Enemy with extraordinary Skill and Courage, ſoon forc'd 'em to retreat, and ſav'd *Minutius*. *Hannibal*, after this Battel, told his Friends, *That he thought the Cloud which had ſo long hover'd upon the Mountains wou'd ſome time break upon 'em with a Storm.* As for *Minutius*,

tius, he was ſo far convinc'd of his former Raſhneſs, that he confeſs'd his Error to *Fabius*, whom he now call'd his Father, and renouncing his new Power again, ſubjected his Office freely to the *Dictatorſhip*.

Soon after *Fabius*'s Time was expir'd, a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election of *Conſuls*, which was *Veturius Philo*, and *Pomponius Matho* was his *Maſter of the Horſe*. The new *Conſuls* were *Æmilius Paulus* and *Terentius Varro*, the former a prudent experienc'd Perſon, the latter a hot, raſh, and inconſiderate Man. Theſe had gather'd together an Army of 80000 Foot and 6000 Horſe, which gave great Hopes to the People, but rais'd as great Fears in ſome of the wiſer ſort, eſpecially *Fabius*, who with all the powerful Arguments imaginable advis'd *Æmilius*, *to beware of the Policy of* Hannibal, *and the Raſhneſs of* Varro. Both Armies met at a Village in *Apulia* call'd *Cannæ*, where *Varro* reſolv'd to engage contrary to *Æmilius*'s Advice, the Enemy being about 40000 Foot and 20000 Horſe. This Battel was fought with dreadful Fury on both Sides, and *Hannibal* had plac'd his Men with all poſſible Skill and Art, ſo that the *Romans* were not only forc'd to fight with Wind, Duſt, and Sun, but preſſing forwards, were in a little time almoſt ſurrounded. In ſhort, the Abilities of the *Punick* General at this time were more apparent than ever, who more over-match'd them in Skill than they exceeded him in Numbers, making a moſt miſerable Slaughter of the *Romans*, till quite wearied out, he commanded his Soldiers to give over. *Æmilius* was found deſperately wounded by *Lentulus* a Colonel, who offer'd him his Horſe to fly; but the Conſul with weeping Eyes deſir'd him *to make uſe of it himſelf, and go tell* Fabius *that he had follow'd his Directions to the laſt, but Fate had conquer'd him*: and then falling among the dead Bodies, he expir'd. In this Battel the *Romans* loſt 50000 Men. *Polybius* ſays 70000, 2 *Quæſtors*, 21 *Tribunes*, 80 of *Senatorian*

Dic. lxi. *U. C.* 538.

natorian Order, and ſo many *Equites* or Knights, that 'tis ſaid that theee Buſhels of their Rings were ſent to *Carthage*; the Enemy having loſt but 5700 Men.

Never was any thing ſo terrible and dreadful to *Rome* as the News of this fatal Defeat; never was the City ſo ſadly fill'd with Terror and Tumult; and never was a more univerſal Mourning and Lamentation throughout all the Streets, than at this time. The Citizens were all in an Uproar and Conſternation, and the *Senators* themſelves in great Trouble and Confuſion, being extremely diſturb'd in their Debates by the diſmal Outcries of miſerable Women tearing their Hair, and beating their Breaſts after a ſad and deplorable manner. A *Dictator* upon this was created, which was *M. Junius*, his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *T. Sempronius*, and Order was immediately given to keep all the Women from coming abroad into the Streets, the Senators themſelves going from Houſe to Houſe to comfort and appeaſe 'em what they cou'd. Great Care was likewiſe taken to ſet ſtrict Guards at the Gates, to keep all Perſons from abandoning the City; and to make all People ſee, *That there cou'd be no poſſible means of preſerving themſelves, but by bravely defending the Walls.* In a ſhort time *Varro* arriv'd at *Rome* with the weak and tatter'd Relicks of his Army; and tho' he had been the principal Cauſe of this Defeat, yet the *Romans*, out of an extraordinary greatneſs of Mind, went out to meet him in Multitudes, and the Senate return'd him Thanks, *for that he had not deſpair'd of the Commonwealth.* Notwithſtanding the vaſt Loſſes ſuſtain'd by *Hannibal*, and the Revolt of a great part of *Italy* immediately after this laſt Defeat, the *Romans* wou'd never ſo much as mention Peace; *Whereas*, as *Livy* ſays, *no Nation under Heaven but wou'd have fainted, and have ſuffer'd themſelves to have been overwhelm'd and cruſh'd with the weight of ſo mighty a Diſaſter.*

Dic. lxii. *U. C.* 538.

III. Thus

III. Thus far was *Hannibal* extraordinary ſucceſsful; and had he made the beſt Uſe of this his laſt Victory by marching directly to *Rome*, he might in all Probability have put an End to the War and *Roman* State at once; but this great Soldier, as *Maharbal* Captain of his Horſe told him, *knew perfectly how to gain a Victory, but not how to uſe and improve it.* For his careleſs Manner of Proceeding that Summer, gave the *Romans* an Opportunity of recovering themſelves when they were almoſt reduc'd to a deſpairing Condition: And now they were inſpir'd with new Courage, and new Reſolutions of proſecuting the War without fainting; making all poſſible Preparations for another Compaign, arming of ſeveral Thouſands of Slaves, and filling up the Senate, which wanted 177 Perſons: This laſt was done by *Fabius Buteo* a *Dictator*, created for that purpoſe, without any *Maſter of the Horſe*, and that before the laſt *Dictator* was out of Office, who was then abroad. But that which prov'd moſt fatal to *Hannibal*, was, his Wintering in *Capua*, a moſt wealthy and luxurious City, which, among many other Places, had ſurrender'd it ſelf to him ſince his laſt Victory. Here he utterly ſpoil'd an excellent and hardy Army, which now was ſo enfeebled and enervated by their immoderate Uſe of the Pleaſures and Effeminateneſs of that Place, that ever after his Men became impatient of Labour, and the ancient Military Diſcipline; ſo that *Capua* became a *Cannæ* to *Hannibal*'s Soldiers. And now *Hannibal*'s Fortune began to change; for in the next Campaign he was worſted in a Sally out of *Nola* by *Marcellus* the *Prætor*, and repuls'd at *Caſilinum*, after he had brought the Place to great Extremities; and not long after *Marcellus* gave him a conſiderable Repulſe nigh *Nola*, which gave the *Romans* mighty Hopes of farther Succeſſes. *Dic.* lxiii. *U. C.* 539.

In *Spain* the *Scipio's* manag'd the War with great Succeſs, overthrowing *Hanno*, and gaining much Ground,

Ground, and likewiſe defeating *Aſdrubal*, who but juſt before had been order'd by the Senate of *Carthage* to go for *Italy* and join *Hannibal*; which Deſign by this means was broke. In *Scicily* and *Sardinia*, tho' ſeveral Attempts were made by the *Carthaginians*, and ſome Revolts hapned, yet Affairs ſucceeded proſperouſly, eſpecially in *Sardinia*, where a Battel was fought, and 12000 *Carthaginians* kill'd, and many taken Priſoners, among whom were *Aſdrubal*, *Hanno*, and *Mago*, all Perſons of the higheſt Quality. *Rome* now had the Misfortune of having Enemies on all Sides of her, and in all Parts of her Dominions and Territories; ſo that the Vigour and Diligence of her Inhabitants was certainly very admirable in ſending Recruits and Supplies into *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, thoſe diſtant Countries, with the ſame Care as againſt *Hannibal* himſelf. But what is a greater Inſtance of the *Roman* Courage and Magnanimity, is their proclaiming War with *Philip* King of *Macedon* in *Greece*, not long after their dreadful Defeat in *Cannæ*, for his making a League with *Hannibal*, and their venturing to invade his Dominion, which they did with good Succeſs. About this time *Cladius Sentho* was created *Dictator* for holding the *Comitia* in the Conſul's Abſence for a new Election, and his *Maſter of the Horſe* was *Fulvius Flaccus*.

Dic. lxiv. *U. C.* 541.

The Affairs of *Sicily* were in a little time alter'd by the Death of *Hiero* King of *Syracuſe*, and the Murder of his Grandſon *Hieronymus* not long after, which caus'd great Factions in that City. The prevailing Faction proving Enemies to *Rome*, *Marcellus* was ſent thither, who beſieg'd the great City of *Syracuſe* by Sea and Land, but cou'd not ſtorm it with all his Power, being perpetually hinder'd by the great Skill and Inventions of that excellent Mathematician *Archimedes*, who contriv'd ſuch Engines as wou'd caſt Stones of prodigious Bulk upon the *Romans*, and vaſt Beams upon their Ships, and diſmount all their Battering

Battering Engines. He alſo ſet the *Roman* Ships upon one end, or overturn'd them, or hois'd 'em up into the Air, and after all the Men were fallen out, let 'em fall upon the Walls; by which means he became ſo formidable to the *Romans*, that *Marcellus* was forc'd to remove to a farther diſtance, jeering his own Engineers, and calling *Archimedes*, *Briareus*. After ſome conſiderable Actions in *Sicily*, and after three Years Siege, *Marcellus* found means to ſurprize the City on a great Feſtival of theirs, by reaſon of an ill-guarded Tower, and ſo became Maſter of it. *Marcellus* cou'd not forbear his Tears at the Deſtruction of ſuch a glorious and magnificent City, which he endeavour'd, but cou'd not prevent; but above all, the Death of *Archimedes* was the greateſt Trouble to him; for he had given ſtrict Command to his Men to preſerve him. But this great Artiſt was at that time ſo extremely buſy about his Mathematical Speculations, that he took no Notice of the Noiſe and Uproar in the City, and ſo was kill'd by a common Soldier before he ſuſpected any Danger. His Body was honourably bury'd by *Marcellus*'s Order, and vaſt Plunder was obtain'd by the Soldiers, beſides many rich Works and great Rarities ſent to *Rome*, the City being full of People, and 22 Miles in Compaſs.

The Wars in *Italy* were manag'd the ſame time with various Succeſs, *Hannibal* had *Tarentum* betray'd to him, the Caſtle ſtill holding out; and the *Romans* inveſted *Capua*, ſtrait'ning it ſo much, that they were forc'd to ſend to *Hannibal* for Relief. He made no great haſte to relieve 'em, being very deſirous to take the Caſtle firſt; but then conſidering how great a Diſgrace the Loſs of ſuch a Place as *Capua* would be, he broke up the Siege of *Tarentum*, and directed his March thither. *Hannibal* attack'd the *Romans* in their Trenches; and tho' he was aſſiſted both by the Inhabitants and his own Garriſon, he was repell'd with conſiderable Loſs. Finding the Relief of the U. C. 542.

Place extream hazardous, he reſolved to fall upon *Rome* it ſelf, expecting that the very Name of ſuch an Enterprize would oblige them to raiſe the Siege; for which reaſon he marched directly that way. His Deſigns being heard of at *Rome*, the Citizens were variouſly inclined as to their way of Security, ſome thinking all the Forces in *Italy* were to be ſent for; but *Fabius* would by no means hear of riſing from before *Capua:* Therefore a middle way was taken, which was to ſend for *Fulvius* the *Proconſul* from the Siege, with 15000 Foot and 1000 Horſe, for the Defence of *Rome;* which was ſpeedily effected, *Hannibal* being now encamped about eight Miles from the City.

Hannibal in a ſhort time decamped, and advanced to the River *Arno*, three Miles from *Rome*, from whence, with a Party of 2000 Horſe, he went to take a View of the City. *Flaccus*, much offended that he ſhould take ſuch Liberty without Oppoſition, ſent out a conſiderable Body of Horſe, which falling upon him, forced him to retreat. The next Day, and the Day following, *Hannibal* on one ſide, and *Flaccus* with the Conſuls on the other, drew out all their Forces for a general Battel; but on both thoſe Days there fell ſuch great Storms of Hail and Rain, that the Armies could not join; but after they had retir'd to their Camps, the Weather proved fair and calm. This ſtruck the *Carthaginians* with a religious Awe, and made *Hannibal* to ſay, *That one while his Mind, another time his Fortune, would not ſuffer him to become Maſter of that mighty City.* Whereupon he decamped, and marched to the River *Turia*, from thence to the Lake of *Feronia*, where he plundered a Temple of that Goddeſs, proceeding in this outragious manner through the Countries of the *Lucani* and *Brutii*; which Cruelty loſt him much Credit, and did him as much Injury. *Flaccus* returned to the Siege of *Capua*, which ſoon after was ſurrender'd, the Heads of the Revolt being

being put to death, and the common ſort ſold. This City being ſituated in ſo good a Soil, was reſerv'd for the uſe of all ſorts of Plowmen, Labourers and Artificers, without any ſhew of Government of its own, as it had formerly. This happened in the 7th Year of this War, and 543d of the City.

In *Spain* the War had been carry'd on all this time with great Vigour, the *Romans* being generally Conquerors, killing in one Battel 37000 Men; but in this laſt Year, *Claudius Nero* the Governor of *Spain* was much impos'd upon by the Treachery of *Aſdrubal*, and another Governor was order'd to ſucceed him, both the *Sciyio's* having been ſlain not long before in *Spain*. A *Comitia* was held for the creating a *Proconſul* for *Spain*, but none appear'd to ſtand for that Office, well perceiving the Hazards and Difficulties of ſuch a War, which caus'd a great Concern and Sadneſs among the People. Whereupon young *Scipio*, a noble Youth, under 24 Years of Age, bravely ſtood up and profeſs'd himſelf *Candidate*, having the Year before been made *Ædile*, tho' under Age, by the great Favour and Confidence of the People. This *Scipio* was Son of the Conſul ſlain in *Spain*, a Perſon of rare and wonderful Abilities for his Age, of extraordinary Courage and Valour, and of as eminent Prudence and Virtue; which excellent Accompliſhments made him joyfully accepted of by the Votes of all; but after he was choſen, they began to have ſome Concern upon the Account of his Youth; which he apprehending, call'd them together, and with ſuch a noble Spirit and great Reſolution promis'd them Succeſs, that they departed abundantly ſatisfy'd with their Choice.

The following Year after *Scipio's* Voyage to *Spain*, *Valerius Lævinus*, who had done good Service againſt *Philip* of *Macedon*, was made *Conſul* a ſecond time, and ſent into *Sicily*; where taking the City *Agrigentum*, he ſoon reduc'd the whole Iſland, which was the

first time the *Romans* became Maſters of all *Sicily*; and this fell out in the 8th Year of this War, and 544th of the City. In the time of *Lævinus*'s Con-
Dic. xlv. *ſulſhip*, a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comi-*
U. C. *tia* for a new Election, both he and his Collegue
544. *Marcellus* being abroad: This was *Fulvius Flaccus*, and his *Maſter of the Horſe* was *Licinius Craſſus*. In this Election *Fabius Maximus* was choſen Conſul a fifth time, in which Year *Tarentum* was betray'd into his Hands, the Succeſs of this Campaign proving very doubtful and various; and in this ſame Year was a *Luſtration*, where were found but 137108 Free Citizens; by which Account it appears, what great Loſſes the *Romans* had ſuſtain'd by theſe dreadful Wars. *Marcellus* for this Year ſometimes won and ſometimes loſt with *Hannibal*; and the following was made *Conſul* a fifth time, when, going againſt *Hannibal*, he was ſlain in an Ambuſcade; a valiant Soldier, who was call'd the *Sword*, as *Fabius* was the *Buckler* of *Rome*. His Collegue *Criſpinus* alſo receiv'd a Wound, which in a little time
Dic. lxvi. kill'd him, having firſt nominated a *Dictator* for
U. C. holding the *Comitia* for a new Election, which was
546. *Manlius Torquatus*, his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *C. Servilius*.

The following Year *Aſdrubal* was order'd to leave *Spain* and go for *Italy* to the Aſſiſtance of his Brother *Hannibal*. Whereupon *Livius* the Conſul was order'd to meet and oppoſe him, whilſt his Collegue *Nero* obſerv'd the Motions of *Hannibal*: But *Nero* having met with ſome Succeſs againſt *Hannibal*, made a choice Detachment of 6000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, and with great Secreſy, and as great Expedition, march'd towards his Collegue. Having join'd him, they ſurrounded *Aſdrubal*, who by the Treachery of his Guides was led into a dangerous Place, and cut him and his whole Army in pieces. *Nero* immediately return'd to his Camp, and before *Hannibal* knew of his departure, caſt his Brother's Head in his Camp;

by

by which, to his great Grief, he knew of his Defeat. At the finiſhing of this *Conſulſhip*, a *Dictator* was created for the holding of the *Comitia* for a new Election, the Conſuls being both in the Field, which was *Livius Salinator*, his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *Cæcilius Metellus*. The Year after this, *Scipio*, after the obtaining many great Victories, and the performing many noble Exploits in *Spain*, wholly reduc'd that Country to the Obedience of *Rome*; having taken or driven out all the *Carthaginian* Commanders, and gain'd as much Reputation by his mild, ſweet, and generous Temper, as he did by his couragious and valiant Acts. This happen'd five Years after his undertaking this Charge, and twelve after the beginning of this War.

Dic. lxvii. *U. C.* 547.

IV. The *Romans* now found themſelves in a much better Condition than they were at the beginning of theſe Wars, eſpecially by the happy reduction of two ſuch conſiderable Provinces as *Spain* and *Sicily*, which had been great Diverſions to 'em; but ſtill *Hannibal*, in the Bowels of *Italy*, was a ſevere Curb, and a grievous Burden to 'em; upon which, *Scipio*, at his Return, being made *Conſul* at 29 Years of Age, greatly deſir'd to be ſent into *Africk*, as the moſt effectual means to finiſh the War; declaring to the Senate, *That he doubted not but to manage Affairs ſo, as that the* Carthaginians *ſhould be forc'd to recall* Hannibal *out of* Italy *for the Defence of his own Country. Fabius* moſt earneſtly, and with ſome Heat oppos'd this, and thereupon a conſiderable Difference aroſe; but at length *Sicily* was granted him for his Province, and Leave given him to paſs over into *Africk*; if he ſaw it convenient for the Commonwealth. All the firſt Year he ſpent in *Sicily*, in providing Neceſſaries for his Expedition; at the end of which, a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election of Conſuls, namely, *Cæcilius Metellus*, his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *Veturius Philo*: The

U. C. 548.

Dic. lxviii. *U. C.* 549.

next *Luſtrum* being ſoon after, 215000 Free Citizens were ceſs'd, which was 77892 more than at the laſt; a happy Increaſe for five Years time. This ſame Year, which was the 14th of this War, *Scipio* arriv'd at *Africk* with a brave Fleet, where *Maſaniſſa* King of *Numidia*, who had join'd with him in *Spain*, came in to his Aſſiſtance.

Scipio was not long in *Africk* without Employment, for in a ſhort time *Hanno* oppos'd him, and was ſlain himſelf, with 3000 of his Men; which ſo encourag'd *Scipio*, that he immediately inveſted *Utica*: But *Syphax*, King of *Numidia*, who had diſpoſſeſs'd *Maſaniſſa* of his Kingdom, marching with the *Carthaginians* to relieve the Place, *Scipio* broke up the Siege, and departed to his Winter-Quarters. But in the Winter he again inveſted *Utica*; and underſtanding that the Enemy was encamp'd not far off, he ſent his ableſt Soldiers in the Habits of Slaves, with his Commiſſioners, to view their Camp. This done, he ſuddenly ſet Fire to their Coverings of Mats, Reeds, dry Boughs, and the like; which they not ſuſpecting, but thinking it came by Accident, were cut in pieces in the midſt of the Hurry and Confuſion to the Number of 40000 Men, 6000 being taken Priſoners. Not long after he gave them another great Overthrow, which ſo terrify'd the *Carthaginians*, that they were oblig'd to recal their great Champion *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, who himſelf likewiſe had been in a declining Condition for a conſiderable time. An Embaſſage was immediately diſpatch'd to *Rome*, with a Deſign to obtain a Ceſſation of Arms till *Hannibal* could ſafely retire from *Italy*: But their Aim being ſufficiently underſtood, their Meſſage was ſlighted and came to no effect.

During theſe Endeavours, *Syphax* finding his Kingdom would probably return to *Maſaniſſa*, the true Inheritor, had gather'd together a numerous Army of unexperienc'd Strangers, and with them march'd againſt *Scipio*, but was ſoon defeated, and himſelf

himſelf taken Priſoner. *Maſaniſſa*, the better to regain his K ngdom, marched with all ſpeed to *Cirta*, the chief City, and by ſhewing them the King in Bonds, procur'd the Gates to be opened, every one ſtriving to gain the Favour of him, who, as they perceiv'd, would be their King. Among the reſt, Queen *Sophonisba*, *Syphax*'s Wife, a Woman of incomparable Beauty, who very earneſtly and humbly beſought him, *That ſhe might not be delivered up into the Hands of the* Romans, her powerful Charms ſo recommended her Suit, that young *Maſaniſſa* forthwith granted it; and the more effectually to perform his Promiſe, marry'd her himſelf that Day. This Action was much diſapprov'd of by *Scipio* at his Arrival ſoon after, letting him to underſtand, *That the* Romans *had a Title to her Head, as being their Captive, one of their greateſt Enemies, and the principal Cauſe of all* Syphax*'s Treachery.* Upon this therefore, *Maſaniſſa*, in deſperate Paſſion, ſent her a Bowl of Poyſon; at the receiving of which ſhe only ſaid, *That if her Husband had no better Token to ſend to his new Wife, ſhe muſt accept of that*; adding, *That her Death had been more honourable, if her Marriage had been farther from it*; and ſo boldly drank it off. *Scipio*, the better to comfort the melancholy Prince, had him immediately proclaimed King of *Numidia*, with the greateſt Pomp and Solemnity that could be expected, having now ſettled him in his Throne without any farther Oppoſition.

V. *Hannibal* had now made his greateſt and utmoſt Efforts in *Italy*, and had perform'd more than any other Commander, when he was recalled by his Superiors; and with great Concern and Reluctancy was forced to quit that Country, after he had ſpent fifteen Years in it with various Fortune. He complained much of his Senate, and of Himſelf; of his Senate, becauſe they had ſo badly ſupply'd him with Money and other Neceſſaries, when he

had been ſo long in an Enemies Country; of Himſelf, for giving the *Romans* time to recover themſelves, after he had ſo often overthrown 'em. It is ſaid likewiſe, that before he embark'd, he built an Arch nigh the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, where, in *Punick* and *Greek* Letters, he wrote the Sum of his great Exploits. Then putting to Sea in a melancholly Temper, having loſt both his Brothers, *Aſdrubal* and *Mago*, and a great many of his beſt Men, he landed in few Days at *Leptis*; from whence he march'd to *Adrumetum*, and next to *Zama*, five days Journey from *Carthage*. A general Satisfaction was in *Rome* for his Departure; for never was a General more dreaded by 'em: And much about that time a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election of *Conſuls*, *Sulpicius Galba* being the Perſon, and *Servilius Geminus* his *Maſter of the Horſe*.

Dic. lxix. *U. C.* 551.

Hannibal now lying encamp'd near *Zama*, and *Scipio* not far from him, the former beginning to conſider the declining State of his Country, deſir'd a Meeting with *Scipio* to treat of a Peace, which was granted. In a large Plain between the two Armies, the two greateſt Generals in the World came to an Interview; but receiving mutually no Satisfaction, eſpecially for that *Scipio* had upbraided the *Carthaginians* with a late Breach of Truce, and Violation of Ambaſſadors, they return'd to decide the Controverſy by the Sword. Never was a more memorable Battel fought, whether we regard the Generals, the Armies, the two States that contended, or the Importance of the Victory. Both the Generals ſhew'd admirable Skill in placing their Men, and chuſing their Ground, as well as extraordinary Courage in charging and falling on, letting their Soldiers to underſtand, *That this Battel muſt ſhew whether* Rome *or* Carthage *ſhou'd give Laws to the World*. *Hannibal*, tho' he behav'd himſelf moſt gallantly, and with all the true Management of ſuch an expert Commander,

der, was at laſt overcome by *Scipio*, who ſlew 20000, and took as many Priſoners. Whereupon *Hannibal* perſuaded his Country-men to beg Peace, and Ambaſſadors were immediately diſpatch'd to *Rome* for that purpoſe: A little before whoſe Arrival, a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for Election of *Conſuls*; and this was *C. Servilius*, his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *Ailius Petus*. *Dic.* lxx. *U. C.* 552.

The Power of concluding Peace was by the People decreed to *Scipio* and ten others, and was at laſt agreed to upon theſe Articles: Firſt, *That the* Carthaginians *ſhould enjoy all their Territories in* Africk; *but that the* Romans *ſhould hold* Spain, *with all the Iſlands in the* Mediterranean: Secondly, *That all Rebels and Deſerters ſhould be deliver'd up to the* Romans: Thirdly, *That the* Carthaginians *ſhould deliver up all the beak'd Ships, except ten Triremes, with all their tam'd Elephants, and tame no more:* Fourthly, *That it ſhould be unlawful for 'em to make War in* Africk, *or elſewhere, without Leave from* Rome: Fifthly, *That they ſhould reſtore all to* Maſaniſſa, *and enter into Alliance with him:* Sixthly, *That they ſhould give Money and Corn to the* Roman *Troops, till the return of the Ambaſſadors:* And, Seventhly, *That they ſhould pay* 10000 *Talents of Silver in* 50 *Years time, and give* 100 *Hoſtages for the Performance of all.* Thus ended the Second *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War, in the 17th Year of it, to the great Satisfaction of *Rome*, and the greater Renown of *Scipio*, who, beſides a moſt ſplendid Triumph, obtain'd the honourable Surname of *Africanus*. It was ſeven Years ſhorter, tho' far more bloody and dangerous than the firſt *Punick* War, and ended in the 553d Year of the City, *A. M.* 3804, in the 4th Year of the 144th *Olympiad*, 308 Years ſince the Beginning of the *Conſular* State, 189 ſince the Burning of the City by the *Gauls*, 129 ſince the Beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander*, and 199 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

From the End of the Second Punick *War, to the End of the Third, and the Deſtruction of* Carthage; *when* Rome *got free from all her Royal States.*

Containing the Space of 55 Years.

I. THeſe Wars, though they had been very dangerous, almoſt to the Ruin of the *Roman* State, ended much to the Advantage of it, both as to its Honour and Dominion, as well as its Experience and Knowledge. The *Romans* began more and more to know the Uſe of Riches, and Arts and Learning daily increas'd as they became more acquainted with the *Græcians*. For much about this time flouriſhed *Ennius*, *Liciniu Tegula*, and *Cæcilius*, all Dramatick Poets, the *Romans* being much delighted with ſuch Spectacles, as well as thoſe more cruel ones of Gladiators, Fighting with Wild-Beaſts, *&c.* The finiſhing of theſe late Wars much eas'd the *Romans*, but ſtill they were employed abroad; for immediately after began, or rather went on, the *Macedonian* Wars againſt King *Philip*, the firſt Occaſion being given ſoon after the great Battel of *Cannæ*, upon his Entrance into an Alliance with *Hannibal*, as was ſaid before. But now the *Romans* having a good Opportunity, and not without Provocation, as well by his Breach of Faith with the *Ætolians* and other *Roman* Allies in thoſe Parts, as by his Supplies long before ſent to *Hannibal*, and at the earneſt Requeſt of the *Athenians*, as well as the Complaints of *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodians*, proclaimed War againſt him anew.

U. C. 553.

This *Philip* King of *Macedon* was one of *Alexander*'s Succeſſors, being the tenth King after him, and a powerful Prince in *Greece*. Againſt him *Sulpicius Galba*

Galba the Conſul was ſent, who by himſelf and his Lieutenant put him to the worſt divers times, and had almoſt taken him Priſoner. By the Aſſiſtance of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, the Conſul rais'd the Siege of *Athens*; whereupon the *Ætolians*, before backward enough, by reaſon of their Magiſtrates, and the *Athenians* now newly encourag'd, invaded *Philip*'s Dominions; but being too ſlothful and careleſs, were eaſily repuls'd by him. This ſame Year obtain'd *Furius* the *Prætor* a great Victory over the *Gauls*, who had lately revolted and inveſted *Cremona*, killing 30000 Men, and with them *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian* Captain. For this Action, after much Diſpute in the Senate, he triumph'd, tho' againſt the Cuſtom, and without Precedent; for none ever obtained this Honour, who had gotten a Victory with another's Army, as he had done with *Aurelius Cotta*'s the Conſul, in his Abſence, who therefore took the Matter very heinouſly. The Year following, *Bebius* the *Prætor* entring unadviſedly into the Territories of the *Inſubrian Gauls*, was ſurrounded, and loſt above 6600 of his Men: In this Year there was but ſmall Action in *Macedonia*.

In the third Year of the *Macedonian* War, *Quintus Flaminius* the Conſul was ſent thither, who uſing great Expedition and Diligence, beat *Philip* out of the Streights, where he had been very advantageouſly poſted; and by Sea his Brother *Lucius*, with *Attalus*, regain'd ſeveral Confederate Towns, and inveſted *Corinth* it ſelf, but with no Succeſs. The latter end of this Year, by reaſon of the great Buſineſs of the Commonwealth, the *Prætors* in *Rome* were increas'd from Four to Six; and now the Time coming for the Election of Conſuls, and it being uſual for them to take the Provinces from their Predeceſſors, the *Tribunes* rightly objected, *That this Cuſtom hinder'd the Progreſs of the Wars*, and ſo procur'd *Quintius*'s Government and Place to be continu'd to him, who being juſt upon taking the Caſtle of *Opus*, Meſſengers

Prætors increas'd. *U. C.* 556.

ſengers came from *Philip* about a Treaty. Several times they met, as they formerly had done, at the Streights, the Ambaſſadors of *Attalus*, the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* being preſent; but all came to no Effect. *Philip* ſoon after delivering up *Argos* into the Hands of *Nabis*, Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who us'd the Inhabitants with great Cruelty and intolerable Exactions. But *Quintius*, managing his Affairs with good Succeſs, at laſt follow'd *Philip* into *Theſſaly*, and gave him a great Overthrow at *Cynocephalæ*, killing 8000, and taking 5000 Priſoners; ſo that he was forc'd to beg Peace, which was granted upon Terms moderate enough: One of the Articles was, *That he ſhould pay* 1000 *Talents, half at preſent, and the other half in the ſpace of ten Years.*

About this ſame time, two great Victories were obtain'd over the *Gauls*; and the Slaves in *Hetruria* breaking into a dangerous Rebellion, were quell'd and chaſtis'd by *Atilius* the *Prætor*. And now the *Romans*, out of a Principle of Generoſity, reſolv'd to reſtore Liberty to the Cities of *Greece* which they had taken in this War, and for that reaſon, ten Men of the chiefeſt Quality were ſent over thither, *Flaminius* being the principal. Theſe Commiſſioners went to the great Solemnity of the *Iſthmian* Games, where was a General Meeting of all *Greece* to behold thoſe Shows; and there, in the Name of the Senate and People of *Rome*, they publickly proclaim'd Liberty to all the Cities and People of *Greece*. This was the moſt ſurprizing and moſt joyful thing in the World to theſe People, who ſcarce ſo much as imagin'd, much leſs expected the Favour. Many Speeches were made in Praiſe of the *Roman* Greatneſs and Generoſity, particularly, *That at laſt, there was a People in the World born for the Safety of all others, that croſs'd Seas and made Wars at their own Coſt and Peril, to relieve the Oppreſs'd, to eſtabliſh Laws, and caus'd them to be obſerv'd, and to maintain the Publick Security throughout the whole Earth.* And this was the end of the firſt

Macedo-

Macedonian War, which happen'd five Years after it was laſt proclaim'd, and twenty after it firſt began.

II. The Year following after the War, ſome Diſturbances were raiſed in the City concerning the *Oppian* Law; a Law preferr'd by *Oppius*, Tribune of the People, ſoon after the Defeat at *Cannæ*, forbidding Women to wear Gold or Purple, and ſome other Ornaments. This Law the preſent Tribunes endeavouring to abrogate, Affairs being chang'd, and the Occaſion remov'd, were violently oppos'd by *Portius Cato* the Conſul, a famous Moraliſt, who publickly and ſeverely inveigh'd againſt the Females; but by reaſon of the Tribune's anſwering him out of his own Book, but chiefly by means of the Womens tumultuous filling the Streets and the Aſſemblies with their importunate Cries, it was at laſt annull'd. *Cato* then betook himſelf to *Spain*, his own Province, where uſing Severity to himſelf as well as his Soldiers, he reſtor'd the *Roman* Diſcipline in thoſe Parts, and reduc'd many of the *Spaniſh* Nations, who had lately revolted. The *Romans* had ſtill Wars with the *Gauls*, who were join'd with their Neighbours the *Ligurians*; but they were not much burdenſome to the State, nor ſuch as hinder'd the Progreſs of Learning in the City. For about this time *Plautus* had many Plays acted at *Rome* with great Applauſe; and he it was that brought *Comedy* to its Perfection in this City, being a Perſon of a great Genius, and a compleat Maſter of the *Latin* Tongue, which tho' it was not arriv'd to its utmoſt Purity, had even then a Maſculine Strength and Energy, which was very excellent. The *Romans* were not without ſome Wars in *Greece*; for *Nabis*, lately mention'd, ſtill oppos'd 'em, but was forc'd to ſubmit in no long time: And about this time *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, by his Incroachment upon the *Roman* Allies, gave an Occaſion to the *Romans* to fall out with him; and this he did partly thro' his own Ambition and Hatred to *Rome*, U. C. 559.

Rome, and partly by the Perſwaſions of *Hannibal*, who had been lately fore'd thither by the Ingratitude of his own Country-men. Theſe Matters occaſion'd Embaſſies on both ſides, but to no great effect, till at laſt *Antiochus* proceeded ſo far into *Greece* it ſelf, the *Ætolians* treacherouſly joining with them, that the *Romans*, after ſuitable Preparations, proclaim'd War againſt him, which was five Years after the finiſhing the *Macedonian* War.

U. C. 536. *Antiochus*, as well as *Philip*, was one of *Alexander*'s Succeſſors, tho' of another Kingdom, and ſurnam'd *Magnus*, being a very potent Prince, and Maſter of great Dominions; therefore the greater Preparations were made againſt him, and *Acilius* the Conſul was ſent into *Greece* to manage the War. *Acilius* eaſily recovered thoſe Places which *Antiochus* had poſſeſs'd himſelf of in *Theſſaly*; then following that King to the *Streights* of *Thermopylæ*, whither he had retir'd, he forc'd him out of his advantageous Poſt, and gave him ſuch an Overthrow, that he immediately abandon'd all *Greece*, the *Ætolians* being left to the mercy of the Conquerors. While *Acilius* perform'd theſe Acts in *Greece*, his Collegue *Naſica* got a notable Victory over the *Boian Gauls* in *Italy*, which entirely broke all their Power. *Lucius Scipio* and *Lælius Nepos* being Conſuls for the following Year, came according to Cuſtom to divide the Provinces by Lot. Both were extreamly deſirous to have *Greece*, and *Lælius* being in great Favour, offer'd to leave it to the Determination of the Senate, which *Scipio* was perſwaded to aſſent to by his Brother *Africanus*. The Matter was wholly new, and the Senate expected many Speeches and Arguments on both ſides, when *Africanus* ſtanding up, told the Fathers, *That if they wou'd decree* Greecee *for his Brother's Province, he himſelf wou'd be his* Legatus *or Lieutenant*; at which there needed no other Argument; for it was immediately voted with univerſal Conſent and Applauſe, and Power given to *Scipio* to paſs into *Aſia*, if he ſaw it convenient,

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In the mean time *Antiochus* lay at *Epheſus* in *Aſia*, ſecure, as he imagin'd, of the *Romans*; but *Hannibal*, who had adviſ'd him to invade *Italy*, told him, *He rather admir'd they were not there already, than doubted of their coming*, and procur'd the Forces to be ſent for out of the further Provinces, and all the Ships that were ready, to ſecure the Paſſage of the *Helleſpont*, where the Conſul moſt probably would paſs. *Pergamus*, the chief City of *Eumenes*, the Friend of the *Romans*, was likewiſe inveſted, but the Siege was ſoon rais'd, and *Antiochus* ſent to *Æmilius* the *Roman* Admiral, now on thoſe Coaſts, about a Peace; but he diſown'd all Power of concluding it without the Conſul. Soon after, the *Rhodians* defeated his Admiral at Sea, which was *Hannibal*, a Man out of his proper Element; and after that in a Fight with *Æmilius*, *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, he intirely loſt the Command at Sea. *Antiochus*, affrighted at this ill Fortune, imprudently abandon'd *Lyſimachia*, which might have kept the Conſul in Action a Year longer; and, adding one piece of Indiſcretion to another, ſuffer'd the *Scipio's* to paſs the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia* without Oppoſition. This was the firſt time that the *Romans* got Footing in *Aſia*, which ſo ſtartled *Antiochus*, that he offer'd to quit all Places in *Europe*, and ſuch in *Aſia* as were Friends of *Rome*, to pay half the Charges the *Romans* were at in this War; and rather than not obtain Peace, to part with a Portion of his own Kingdom.

The Ambaſſadors who carry'd theſe Propoſals us'd their utmoſt Endeavours to procure the Favout of *Africanus*, offering him the reſtitution of his Son who had been taken Priſoner, and many other great and honourable Advantages, if it cou'd be effected: But *Africanus* wou'd promiſe nothing more than only private Offices of Kindneſs, modeſty letting 'em to know, *That ſince* Antiochus *was now in ſuch a declining State, Peace was not probably to be purchaſed at ſo eaſy a Rate as formerly.* Whereupon *Antiochus* made

made what Proviſion he cou'd for a Battel; and *Africanus* falling ſick ſoon after, to comfort him, and to gain his Favour, he ſent him his Son without Ranſom; upon which the other, in way of Requital, adviſ'd him not to engage with his Brother till he cou'd return to the Camp. *Antiochus* therefore, having receiv'd this Meſſage, declin'd fighting what he cou'd, till *Scipio* the Conſul preſs'd ſo hard upon him nigh *Magneſia*, that he was forc'd to draw out his Men to the Number of 70000 Foot and 12000 Horſe. *Scipio* oppos'd him with a much leſs Army, but in a few hours time entirely defeated him, where his own Chariots, arm'd with Scythes, being driven back upon his own Men, contributed much to his Overthrow. *Antiochus* now was glad to procure Peace of the *Romans* upon their own Terms, and Ambaſſadors were diſpatch'd accordingly, where *Africanus* told 'em, *That the* Romans *were never wont to inſult over their conquer'd Enemies, and therefore nothing ſhou'd be requir'd of him more than formerly.* The Terms were, *To pay* 15000 *Talents of* Eubœa *for the Expences of the War, to quit all their Poſſeſſions in* Europe, *and likewiſe all* Aſia *on this ſide Mount* Taurus; *to deliver up* Hannibal *and other Incendiaries, and to give* 20 *Hoſtages for ſecuring the Peace.* Thus ended the War with *Antiochus* the Great, much to the Advantage of *Rome*, within two Years time or leſs, twelve Years after the ſecond *Punick* War, *Lucius Scipio* having gain'd the Surname of *Aſiaticus*, as his Brother had of *Africanus*.

U. C. 565. III. The *Romans* had now but little Employment abroad, beſides chaſtiſing the *Ætolians* in *Greece*, which was ſoon effected by *Manlius*, *Scipio*'s Collegue; and by the ſame Conſul an Expedition was undertaken againſt the *Gallo-Græcians* or *Gallatians* in *Aſia*, with good Succeſs; but Luxury and Idleneſs was firſt brought into *Rome* by his Army out of *Aſia*. The ſame Year the *Cenſus* being perform'd, 258328 Free Citizens

Citizens were ceſs'd. In the third Year after the ending of the War with *Antiochus*, *Scipio Africanus* was malicioufly accus'd of defrauding the Treaſury of the Booty taken in the War, and of too nigh a Correſpondence with *Antiochus*, and of Matters of the like nature. Some write that his Accuſers were incited to it by *Cato*, who hated him for his being frequently ſaluted King in *Spain* by the Inhabitants there, and occaſion'd him to have a Day ſet him by the *Tribunes* to anſwer it before the People. The Day of Hearing being come, and the *Tribunes* having taken their Places in the *Roſtra*, this great Man enter'd the Aſſembly, with a mighty Train of Friends and Clients, all the People having their Eyes fix'd upon him with Admiration. Silence being made, he with an undaunted Bravery put on his Triumphal Crown, and with the Voice of a Conqueror cry'd, *This very Day, O* Romans! *I did overcome the fierce* Hannibal, *and vanquiſh'd the powerful* Carthaginians; *therefore let us lay aſide private Conteſts, and go us many as can to the Capitol, to thank the Gods for giving me the Will and Power of doing ſuch eminent Services for my Country.* Whereupon going up to the *Capitol*, the whole Aſſembly follow'd him, as alſo to all the Temples in the City, inſomuch that the very *Viators* and *Clerks* left the *Tribunes* alone, who from Accuſers were turn'd Admirers.

Shortly after, the Senate accus'd him in the Senate-Houſe, and deſir'd he might be brought to his Anſwer. *Scipio* boldly riſing up, produc'd his Books of Accounts, and tore 'em in pieces before 'em all, *diſdaining to give an Account for ſo ſmall a matter, in compariſon of the vaſt Sums he himſelf had brought into the Treaſury.* The next Day of Appearance he abſented himſelf, and his Brother declaring his Indiſpoſition, he was excus'd, and another Day appointed, before which time he withdrew himſelf to *Linternum*, a Sea-Town of *Campania*, and there liv'd a retir'd Life. In his Abſence the *Tribunes* were ve-

ry violent againſt him; yet through the Interpoſition of *Gracchus*, one of 'em, he was not condemn'd. His Brother *Aſiaticus* was ſhortly after call'd to an Account about Matters of the ſame nature, but by *Gracchus*'s means likewiſe eſcap'd publick Puniſhment. The Year following, many ſcandalous Abuſes of the Feaſts of *Bacchus* were ſtrictly enquir'd into and reform'd. Three Years after which, the Great *Africanus* dy'd, who according to *Val. Maximus*, order'd, *Ingrata Patria ne oſſa quidem mea habes*, to be engraven on his Tomb, *My ungrateful Country ſhall have none of my Remains.* This ſame Year was remarkable for the Death of two other famous Men, *Philopœmen*, Captain of the *Achæans* in *Greece*, and *Hannibal*; the latter of which had fled to ſeveral Places to eſcape falling into the Hands of the *Romans*, and at laſt to *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, who, out of Fear, was about delivering him up, when *Hannibal* took Poyſon, which 'tis ſaid he carry'd about him in his Ring, firſt *invoking the Gods of Hoſpitality as Witneſſes of the violated Faith of King* Pruſias, *and upbraiding the preſent* Romans *with degenerating from their Anceſtors, who had honourably prevented the Murder of their mortal Enemy* Pyrrhus; *whereas theſe had baſely ſent to* Pruſias *to murder his Gueſt and Friend.*

U. C. 571.

The *Romans* were for about 12 Years after this chiefly employ'd in Wars with their Neighbours the *Ligurians* and *Iſtrians*, with the *Sardinians* and *Corſicans*, and likewiſe with the *Celtiberians* in *Spain*, all which they reduc'd to Subjection. In which Space of time the Works of *Numa Pompilius*, the ſecond King of *Rome*, after they had been buried in a Stone Cheſt 535 Years, were taken up and burnt by Order of the Senate; and in a *Luſtration* not long after, 273244 Free Citizens were ceſs'd. About two Years after this, *Perſeus* King of *Macedon*, the Son of *Philip*, invited by his Father's Preparations before his Death, and pleas'd with his own Strength and imaginary

U. C. 583.

imaginary Succeſſes, renounc'd the League made with the *Romans*, and ſo began the ſecond *Macedonian* War, 25 Years after the finiſhing of the firſt, and 18 after that with *Antiochus*. Upon this, *Quintus Marcius* and others were ſent into *Greece* to ſecure and eſtabliſh the Confederates in their Fidelity; which made *Perſeus* begin to reflect upon what he had done; and underſtanding the Motions and Preparations of the *Romans*, he apply'd himſelf to *Marcius* about a Treaty for Peace, relying upon the ancient Friendſhip between their two Families. The Ambaſſadors were well ſatisfied with this Opportunity, and to divert him from Action, granted him Truce till he might ſend to *Rome*; for without this, he might have began the War much to the Diſadvantage of the *Romans*, who had neither Army nor Commander yet arriv'd in *Greece*.

The Senate deny'd him Peace, and *Attilius* the Conſul was ſent to ſeize upon *Bariſſa*, the chief City of *Theſſaly*: Whereupon *Perſeus* drew all his Forces together, having gather'd together a greater Army than any of his Predeceſſors were Maſters of ſince *Alexander the Great*. He took in ſome Towns upon his Frontiers, and *Licinius* the Conſul led ſuch a raw undiſciplin'd Army into *Macedonia*, and through ſuch difficult and almoſt impaſſable Places, that had *Perſeus* made his Advantage of this Opportunity, he might eaſily have deſtroy'd it. After this, he ſent to *Licinius*, offering *to obſerve the Articles to which his Father* Philip *had ſubmitted, by paying the Tribute, and leaving the Cities to their Liberty*; but could not obtain Peace to be granted him upon theſe Terms. Soon after, *Thebes* and *Aleartus* were taken by *Lucretius* the *Prætor*; and the Conſul having had the Advantage in another Skirmiſh, poſſeſs'd himſelf of ſome Towns, and took up his Winter-Quarters: Mean while *Appius Claudius* loſt many Men in *Illyricum*. The Year following *Hoſtilius* the Conſul, who was to manage this War, perform'd but little of moment beſides

reducing his Men to that ancient Diſcipline which his Predeceſſor had too much neglected. *Marcius Philippus* ſucceeding him, at his firſt Entrance into his Province might have eaſily been defeated, had he met with a prudent and expert Enemy, the Ways being ſo difficult and dangerous to paſs, that his Soldiers could ſcarce hold their Weapons in their Hands, by reaſon of their Wearineſs. And after he had enter'd the Plains, he might as eaſily have been block'd up and ſtarv'd, had not *Perſeus*, ſtruck with a groundleſs Fear, retreated to *Pydna*, and left all the Paſſes open to him. Yet *Marcius* acted nothing of conſequence, leaving all to be perform'd by his Succeſſor *Æmilius Paulus*, who had been Conſul 17 Years before, and was a very experienc'd Commander.

Æmilius very skilfully manag'd the War, and cauſed the Eclipſe of the Moon to be foretold to his Soldiers, leſt they ſhould be diſcouraged by it, which much terrify'd the Enemy that knew nothing of the Natural Cauſe. He kept his Men from fighting when they were fatigu'd, tho' the Officers were deſirous to engage: But the Armies lying encamped on each ſide the River *Enipeus*, a Beaſt, by chance, paſſing over from the *Roman* ſide, was ſeiz'd on, and being reſcu'd, by degrees drew both Armies to an Engagement, wherein *Perſeus* loſt the Day, and with it his Kingdom. He flying into the Iſle of *Crete*, when all abandon'd him, ſurrender'd himſelf into the Hands of *Cn. Octavius*. *Æmilius* ſeverely chaſtiz'd the *Epirots*, who had join'd with *Perſeus*, plundering and demoliſhing about 70 of their Towns, whereby ſuch a great Booty was gain'd, that each Footman had 200 *Denarii* (above 7 *Engliſh* Pounds) and every Horſeman twice as much. But the Soldiers having gain'd little or no Plunder in *Macedonia*, nor any of the King's Treaſure, deny'd their General a Triumph, which he obtain'd notwithſtanding, and that a moſt Splendid one too, ſuch as *Rome* ſcarce ever ſaw before, *Perſeus* himſelf and his two Sons being

being led in great State and Magnificence before his Triumphal Chariot. And the ſame Year *Cn. Octavius*, the *Prætor* at Sea, triumph'd, and *L. Anicius*, before whoſe Chariot was *Gentius* King of the *Illyrians*, who being a Confederate of *Perſeus*, was oblig'd to yield himſelf Priſoner. Thus ended the ſecond *Macedonian* War in three Years time, and with it the *Macedonian* Kingdom, after it had continu'd 156 Years after *Alexander*'s Death, and ſeveral Hundreds of Years before; *Æmilius*, by this Conqueſt, bringing 200 Millions of Seſterces into the Treaſury, according to *Paterculus*.

IV. Now the *Roman* Grandeur began to diſplay it ſelf thro' all Countries and Nations; many Kings and Potentates became humble Suppliants to the Senate, being all at their diſpoſal; and Learning now flouriſh'd much more than ever, being much forwarded by the *Roman* Converſe and Familiarity with the *Græcians*, whom they had lately conquer'd; and much encourag'd by *Scipio* and *Lælius*, the two noble Patrons of Eloquence, Poetry, and all Arts, and the worthieſt and moſt accompliſh'd Gentlemen in *Rome*. The former of theſe was *Æmilius* the Conſul's Son, adopted by the Son of *Africanus*; and the other was Son to *Lælius*, who formerly did great Service in *Africa*. In this time flouriſh'd the famous Comedian *Terence*, who writ with extraordinary Correctneſs and Accuracy, and help'd to bring the *Roman* Tongue to a great Perfection, as to Purity and Propriety, his firſt Play being acted one Year after the Conqueſt of *Macedonia* and *Perſeus*. And not only the Learning, Riches, and Dominions of *Rome*, were increas'd, but likewiſe the Inhabitants; for in a Luſtration about this time, there were 312081 Free Citizens ceſs'd. For 17 or 18 Years the *Romans* were employ'd in more inferior Wars, ſuch as thoſe with the *Ligurians*, *Corſicans*, *Dalmatians*, and *Spaniards*, and likewiſe the *Macedonians*, being all in the nature of Re- *U. C.* 586.

U C. 604. volts, which tho' they often created much Trouble to the State, yet they were not ſo memorable as to deſerve a particular Account in this Volume.

Theſe Wars were ſcarcely finiſh'd, when the *Romans* found a Pretence to begin the third *Carthaginian* War, which was their being in Arms againſt *Maſaniſſa*, a *Roman* Ally, tho' they had ſufficient Juſtice on their ſide. The *Roman* Ambaſſadors who were ſent to *Carthage*, finding the City very rich and flouriſhing from their fifty Years Peace, at their return inſiſted much on the Danger which threaten'd *Rome* from that State; eſpecially *Cato*, who never came into the Senate, but after his ſpeaking to any Publick Buſineſs, concluded with *Delenda eſt Carthago*; Carthage *is to be deſtroy'd.* He was often oppos'd by *Scipio Naſica*, who urg'd, *That upon the Removal of ſo powerful a Rival, Security would cauſe the Ruin and Diſſolution of the* Roman *Commonwealth*, as it afterwards prov'd: But *Cato*'s Reaſons, drawn from the preſent Danger, ſo over-rul'd *Scipio*'s Forecaſt, that the Senate now having a Pretence of an open Breach of Articles, order'd War to be proclaim'd againſt the *Carthaginians*, and both the Conſuls were ſent, with a full Reſolution utterly to deſtroy *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians*, affrighted at the *Romans* Preparations, immediately condemn'd thoſe who had broken the League, and moſt humbly offer'd any reaſonable Satisfaction. Anſwer was return'd to them, *That they ſhould enjoy all as formerly, provided they ſent* 300 *Hoſtages of the chief of the City within* 30 *Days to* Sicily, *and did what the Conſuls ſhould farther command them.* The *Carthaginians*, deſiring nothing more than Peace, ſent their Children within the limited time; and the Conſuls landing at *Utica* ſoon after, they ſent their Commiſſioners to wait upon them, and know their Pleaſure. *Cenſorinus* the Conſul, commending their Diligence, demanded all their Arms, which without any Fraud were delivered up. Now the *Carthaginians* imploring

ploring Mercy, with many Tears, and all poſſible Submiſſion, deſir'd to know their laſt Doom; the Conſuls told 'em, *That they were commanded to quit their City, which they had ſpecial Orders to level with the Ground, and build another any where in their own Territories, ſo it were but* 10 *Miles from the Sea.* This ſevere Command they receiv'd with all the Concern and Rage of a deſpairing People, and reſolv'd to ſuffer the greateſt Extremities, rather than abandon or yield to the Ruin of their ancient Seat and Habitation.

The Conſuls were very backward in beginning the War, not doubting but eaſily to become Maſters of the City, now in this naked and defenceleſs Condition; but they found it quite otherwiſe; for the Inhabitants acting by a deſperate Rage and Fury, both Men and Women fell to working Night and Day in the Defence of the City, and making of Arms: And where Iron and Braſs were wanting, they made uſe of Gold and Silver, the Women freely cutting off the Hair of their Heads, to ſupply the Place of Tow or Flax. *Aſdrubal*, who had lately been condemn'd upon the Account of the *Romans*, was now made their General, and Governor of the City, where he had already a good Army; and ſuch Preparations were made, that when the Conſuls came before the City, they found ſuch notable Reſiſtance as much diſcourag'd them, and as much increas'd the Reſolution of the Beſieg'd. The Conſuls engag'd ſeveral times to their Diſadvantage, and might have been great Loſers, had not the Army been ſecur'd and brought off by the great Wiſdom and Courage of *Scipio Æmilianus*, formerly mention'd, who drew over *Pharneas*, Maſter of the *Carthaginian* Horſe, to his ſide; which Action gain'd him great Fame and Honour. This Year dy'd *Maſaniſſa*, 90 Years old, leaving his Kingdom and a young Son to *Scipio*'s Diſcretion: And the ſame Year dy'd *Cato* in *Rome*, in the 85th

Year of his Age, who did not live to ſee the too much deſir'd Ruin of *Rome*.

Little was perform'd by the Conſuls in the following Year, for they only inveſted *Clupea* and *Hippo*, without taking of either; but at *Rome* all Mens Eyes were fix'd upon *Scipio*, looking upon him as the Perſon deſtin'd to end the War; and whereas he ſought only for the *Ædileſhip*, the People beſtow'd the *Conſulſhip* upon him, diſpenſing with his Age and other uſual Qualifications. *Scipio* ſoon let 'em know, that their Honours were not ill beſtow'd; for having reſtor'd Diſcipline, which had been too much neglected by the foregoing Conſuls, he ſoon after took that Part of *Carthage* call'd *Megara*, and drove the Inhabitants into the Citadel or *Byſa*. Then ſecuring the *Iſthmus* which led to the City, he cut off all Proviſions from out of the Country, and block'd up the Haven; but the Beſieg'd, with miraculous and incredible Induſtry, cut out a new Paſſage into the Sea, whereby, at certain Times, they cou'd receive Neceſſaries from the Army without. *Scipio* therefore, in the beginning of the Winter, ſet upon their Forces lying in the Field, of which he kill'd 70000, and took 10000 Priſoners; by which means the Beſieg'd could have no Relief from abroad, ſo that they were now in a ſad and deſpairing Condition.

In the Beginning of the next Spring, he took the Wall leading to the Haven *Citho*, and ſoon after the *Forum* it ſelf, where was a moſt miſerable and deplorable Spectacle of ſlaughter'd People; for ſome hewn in pieces by the Sword; others half kill'd by the Fall of Houſes, or Fires; ſome half bury'd in the Earth and trampled on, and others torn Limb from Limb, lay mangled in vaſt Heaps after a ſad and lamentable manner. Still the Citadel held out, till at laſt it was deſir'd by ſome, *That all that wou'd come forth ſhould have their Lives*; which being granted to all but Revolters, above 50000 yielded, and were ſav'd, as did

did afterwards *Aſdrubal* himſelf. He was much revil'd for it by the Revolters, who finding their Condition deſperate, ſet fire to the Temple, and burnt themſelves with it; whoſe Example was follow'd by *Aſdrubal*'s Wife, who in a deſperate Fury threw her ſelf and her two Children into the midſt of the Flames. Then was this magnificent City laid in Aſhes, being 24 Miles in compaſs, and ſo large, that the burning of it continu'd 17 Days together. The Senate at *Rome* receiv'd this long expected News with extraordinary Joy and Satisfaction, and diſpatch'd Men of their own Order, whom they join'd with *Scipio* for the diſpoſing of the Country. Theſe order'd that none of *Carthage* ſhould be left; and that it might never be re-built, they denounc'd heavy Curſes on any that ſhould offer to do it. All the Cities which aſſiſted in this War were order'd to be demoliſh'd, and the Lands given to the Friends of the *Roman* People; and the reſt of the Towns were to be Tributaries, and govern'd yearly by a *Prætor* appointed for that purpoſe, all the Captives and Priſoners being ſold, except ſome of the principal.

This was the fatal end of one of the moſt renown'd Cities in the World, both for Command and Riches, 708 Years after it was firſt built, having been Rival to *Rome* above 100 Years: And this was the End of the third and laſt *Carthaginian* War, which was finiſh'd in the 4th Year after it began, to the great Enlargement of the Dominions, Power, and Riches of the *Roman* State. This happen'd in the 608th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3859, in the third Year of the 158th *Olympiad*, 363 Years ſince the Beginning of the *Conſular State*, 184 ſince the Beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander*, 119 ſince the firſt Conteſt between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, and 144 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

From the Destruction of Carthage *to the End of the Sedition of the* Gracchi; *which much shook the Government, and was the first Step towards the Ruin of the* Consular *State.*

Containing the Space of 23 Years.

U. C. 608. NOW *Rome* began to pride her self to a higher degree than ever, having got free from her Enemies that she most feared and most hated, her Dominions being extended to a large Circumference, and the Common-wealth increas'd to a noble height of Glory, but to a more dangerous degree of Security in respect of Neighbours, which in not many Years prov'd the Dissolution of the present Government. However, the Power and Conquests of the State still daily increas'd, and this same Year *Corinth*, one of the noblest Cities in *Greece*, sustain'd the same Fate with *Carthage*, being levell'd with the Ground. The Occasion was given by the *Achæans* themselves, who not only affronted the *Roman* Ambassadors sent to dissolve the Confederacy, and to leave the Cities to the Government of their own peculiar Laws, but likewise join'd with others in a War against the *Lacedæmonians*, the Allies of *Rome*. Upon these Grounds the Senate decreed War against 'em, and *Metellus* now in *Macedonia* undertook it; who drawing down his Army thro' *Thessaly* into *Bœotia*, overthrew *Critolaus*, then took *Thebes* and *Megara*, about which time *Mummius* the Consul succeeded him in his Province. And this *Mummius* overthrew *Dieus* the *Achæan* General; after which he enter'd *Corinth*, and demolish'd it, because there the Ambassadors had been affronted. And as

as, *Scipio*, who deſtroy'd *Carthage*, like the former *Scipio*, had the Surname of *Africanus*, and *Metellus*, for reducing *Macedonia* that of *Macedonicus*; ſo *Mummius*, for his Succeſs this Year, obtain'd the Surname of *Achaicus*, becauſe he reduced thoſe Parts, and all *Greece*, with *Epirus*, into the Form of a Province, call'd afterwards by the general Name of *Achaia*.

It was now 74 Years ſince the *Romans* enter'd *Spain* in a hoſtile manner, and many and frequent Struglings had been made by that People, eſpecially ſince the Departure of *Scipio Africanus* the Elder: At this time was *Viriatus* up in Arms, who from a Shepherd became a Robber, and from a Robber a General over a numerous Party of ſuch as himſelf, which created the *Romans* much Trouble for ſome time. And *Fabius*, the Brother of *Scipio* the Younger, after ſome Succeſs againſt him, was at laſt reduced to ſuch Extremities, that he was obliged to accept of Peace upon equal Terms, which *Cæpio*, the following Year's Conſul, refuſed to ſtand to, receiving new Orders from the Senate to proſecute the *War*. *Cæpio* attempted to deſtroy *Viriatus* by Surprize, but he eſcap'd, and ſoon after ſending his Ambaſſadors to treat of a Peace, *Cæpio* ſo wrought upon 'em, that they murder'd him in his Bed at their Return, to their own Shame, and the Conſul's great Diſhonour. But the moſt difficult and dangerous part of this War was at *Numantia*, a Town of no great bigneſs, but peopled with Inhabitants of extraordinary Valour. Before *Viriatus*'s Death they had foil'd *Q. Pompeius* the Conſul ſeveral times, and likewiſe his Succeſſor *Mancianus*, who were conſtrain'd to make diſhonourable Treaties with 'em, but afterwards ſufficient Pretences were found to break 'em, *Mancianus* being delivered up bound to the Enemy. After this *Brutus* defeated many thouſands of the *Luſitanians*, and overthrew the *Gallæcians*; but *Lepidus* the Proconſul was far leſs ſucceſsful, for ſetting upon the *Vaccæi*, a harmleſs and quiet People of the hithermoſt *Spain*, he was entirely defeated by them. *U. C.* 609.

Theſe

Theſe Misfortunes ſo terrify'd the *Roman* Soldiers, that they were ready to tremble at the ſight of a *Spaniard*; and this oblig'd the Citizens of *Rome* to chuſe *Scipio Africanus* Conſul a ſecond time, as the chief Hope and Bulwark of their Country. *Scipio* at firſt reſtor'd Diſcipline, the want of which had been the Cauſe of all their former ill Succeſs; but coming to engage, he found the Courage of the Enemy ſo extraordinary, that he reſolv'd to fight no more, but lay a cloſe Siege to *Numantia*, which he did with all poſſible Care and Diligence. At laſt the Beſieg'd were ſo ſtraiten'd, that they offer'd to yield upon reaſonable Terms, or to fight if they might have Battel given 'em, notwithſtanding the great Inequality of their Numbers: But neither of theſe being allow'd 'em, they all drank ſtrong Liquors purpoſely to enflame themſelves, and then fell upon the Beſiegers with ſuch a deſperate Fury, that the *Romans* had all fled, had any other General but *Scipio* commanded 'em. The Beſieg'd finding there was no avoiding being made Priſoners, fir'd the City over their own Heads, ſcarce a Man being left to be led in Triumph. This famous City, ſeated in *Gallæcia*, had for 14 Years together withſtood 40000 *Romans* with only 4000 Men, often putting them to great Loſs and Shame: And that it might be no longer a Trouble to them, *Scipio* deſtroy'd it, after a Siege of 15 Months; 13 Years after he had deſtroy'd *Carthage*, *Mutius Scævola* and *Calpurnius Piſo*, both learned Men, being Conſuls. *Scipio* gain'd a great Name both by deſtroying *Carthage* and *Numantia*, the former being a Terror, and the latter a Reproach to the *Romans*. All *Spain* was now brought to a more entire Subjection than ever, being not many Years before divided into the three Provinces of *Terraconenſis*, *Bætica*, and *Luſitanica*, two *Prætors* being yearly ſent thither for its better Government. At this time flouriſh'd *Lucilius* the famous *Satyriſt*, the firſt at leaſt, of note of that kind

kind in *Rome*; and this ſame Year was a Servile War in *Sicily*; but the Slaves were in a ſhort time intirely broken and diſperſed.

II. The *Romans* now began daily to degenerate from their ancient Modeſty, Plainneſs, and Severity of Life; addicting themſelves more and more to Pleaſure and Luxury: For the *Aſian* Expeditions and Triumphs having brought in Exceſs and Riot, and the Ruin of *Carthage* taken away all Fear; Idleneſs and Security, as well as Avarice and Ambition, by degrees ſtole in upon them, and almoſt a general Corruption began to mix with the State. For tho' after this time many a powerful People were ſubdu'd, Arts and Learning daily increas'd and flouriſh'd, and great Glory was obtain'd abroad, yet it was often ſtain'd and ſully'd with inglorious Factions, ſeditious Jealouſies and Contentions at Home, ſometimes to the ſhedding of one anothers Blood; of which, that of *Tiberius Gracchus* was the firſt remarkable Inſtance. This Perſon, being the Elder *Africanus*'s Grandſon, and of a ſtirring and active Spirit, had a ſhare in *Mancinus*'s diſhonourable Treaty in *Spain*; for which being reflected on by the Senate, (who, not without Injuſtice, had broke it) and therefore both ſham'd and affrighted, he endeavour'd to make himſelf Popular, by reſtraining the unjuſt Oppreſſions of the Nobility, which were now far more notorious than formerly: And therefore procuring himſelf to be choſen *Tribune*, he preferr'd a Law, forbidding any Man to poſſeſs above 500 Acres of the Publick Lands, and ordering the Overplus to be divided among the Poor. For it was cuſtomary for the *Romans* to divide thoſe Lands which were taken from their Enemies among their own Citizens, if arable; if not, they farm'd 'em out by the *Cenſors* to the *Italians*, or the ordinary ſort of *Romans*, upon condition, that if they plow'd 'em, they ſhould pay the tenth Part of the Corn, and

and the Fifth of other Fruits; but if they did not plow them, they paid a certain Rent. But Corruptions daily increasing in the State, the poor Husbandmen were, by degrees, thrust out of their ancient Possessions by the great Oppressions and Licentiousness of the Rich, who, by purchasing and other Methods, got those Lands all into their own Hands; so that the Publick, by this means, was defrauded of its Revenues, and the Poor of their Livelihoods.

For the Reformation of these Abuses, *Gracchus* took great Care; and whereas the *Lex Licinia* and *Sempronia* were formerly enacted for restraining the Avarice of the Rich; he strengthened the former by adding, lest the Law should be wrested, *That one half should be given to the Children, and the rest divided among such Poor as had nothing*; and lest any should go about to enlarge their Portions by Purchase, *Triumviri*, or Three Men, were yearly appointed to judge what Lands were Publick, and what were Private. These Matters, tho' at first carried on with sufficient Moderation, extremely disgusted the Nobility and richer sort, who, by Vertue of this Law, were to part with much of their Estates; and for that reason they frequently insinuated to the People, *That* Gracchus *had introduc'd this Law with a Design only to disturb the Government, and to put all Things into Confusion.* But *Gracchus* being a Person of great Abilities and Eloquence, easily wip'd off those Aspersions, and in a publick Speech told the People, *That while the savage Beasts and Destroyers of Mankind wanted not their Places of Repose and Refuge, those Men who exposed their Lives for their Countries were forbidden all Enjoyments but the open Air and Sun-shine. That their Commanders before the Battels ridiculously exhorted 'em* to fight for the Temples and Altars, and their Ancestors Seats! *when they had none of these to defend or care for. They had the Honour indeed of gaining large and rich Dominions, but had not the*

Profit

Profit of enjoying the ſmalleſt and meaneſt Poſſeſſions; and likewiſe had the Honour of being ſtyl'd Lord of the Univerſe, *but had not the Command of one Foot of Land.*

This Speech, and ſome others of his, had great Effect upon the common People, who before were forward enough in promoting a Law ſo very advantageous to themſelves; but *Gracchus* meeting with much Oppoſition on one ſide, as well as Encouragement on the other, began now to proceed with greater Heat and Violence, and being oppos'd by *Octavius*, one of his Collegues, he ſo manag'd him both by Cunning and Violence, as he was forc'd to quit his Office; into which Place he choſe *Mummius*, one of his own Faction. This Action of his being without all Precedent, much alienated the Minds of many of the Multitude; and his own Party, who judg'd he us'd too great a Freedom with the *Sacroſanct* Office of the *Tribuneſhip*. *Gracchus* perceiving this, firſt made a very plauſible Defence; and the more to ingratiate himſelf with the People, he offer'd to prefer a Law for diſtributing the Money of *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, which he had lately left, together with his Kingdom, to the People of *Rome*. This caus'd greater Diſturbances among the Senate and Nobility than before, and all Things were carry'd on with more violent Feuds than ever; ſo that *Gracchus*'s Death began now to be thought on and deſign'd, as the ſureſt Means to quiet all Diſturbances, and to compoſe all Differences.

The Senate being aſſembled to conſult the moſt proper Method in this Juncture, and all being of Opinion that *Mutius Scævola* the Conſul ſhou'd defend the Commonwealth by Arms, he refus'd to act any thing by Force. Whereupon *Scipio Naſica*, *Gracchus*'s Kinſman, taking up his Gown under his left Arm, held up his Right Hand in great Paſſion, crying, *Since the Conſul regards not the Safety of the Commonwealth, let every Man that will defend the Dignity and Authority*

of

of the Laws, follow me! Upon this, he went directly up to the *Capitol*, being accompanied with moſt of the Senate, many *Equites*, and ſome Commoners, arm'd with Clubs, Staves, and ſuch like Weapons; who knocking down all that reſiſted, open'd their Way into the *Capitol*, where *Gracchus* was ſpeaking to the People, and endeavouring to be choſen *Tribune* for the following Year. In which Place they fell upon both him and his Hearers, of whom they kill'd 300, and with them, himſelf with a piece of a Seat, as he was endeavouring to ſave himſelf by Flight. This was the firſt Inſurrection among the *Romans*, that ended with Effuſion of Blood, ſince the Abrogation of Kingly Government; for all former Seditions, tho' many of them were very great and laſting, were conſtantly ended by the two Parties yielding to one another, and ſubmitting all to the Good of the Publick; for then Riches and private Intereſt were not underſtood among the *Romans*.

At this time there were ſome Riſings at *Athens* and at *Delos*, being a Spark of that Fire kindled by the Slaves in *Sicily* the Year before, which with ſome Trouble were extinguiſh'd; neither was *Italy* it ſelf altogether free from them. But a greater War enſu'd about the Kingdom of *Aſia*; for *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* or *Aſia*, by his laſt Will had left the People of *Rome* his Heirs, as was before obſerv'd: But after his Deceaſe, *Ariſtonicus*, his Baſtard-Brother, ſeiz'd on the Kingdom as his own Inheritance and Right. *Licinius Craſſus* the Conſul was firſt ſent againſt him, but was unfortunately overthrown in the firſt Battel; and being taken Priſoner, ſtruck one of the Soldiers on the Eye, on purpoſe to provoke him to kill him, which he did. He thus miſcarrying, tho' with the Aſſiſtance of ſeveral Kings, his Succeſſor *Perpenna* haſted into *Aſia*, ſet upon *Ariſtonicus* unawares, before he was recover'd of his Security contracted by his Victory, firſt overthrew him in Battel, then beſieg'd him

him in *Stratonice*, where by Famine he forc'd him to a Surrender, ſhortly after which he dy'd himſelf at *Pergamus*. The remainder of the War was finiſh'd by *Aquilius* the following Year's Conſul, who having ſettled the Province with ſufficient Oppreſſion of the People, led *Ariſtonicus* in Triumph, tho' he had been taken by another; and afterwards, by Order of the Senate, he was ſtrangled in Priſon, about four Years after the Death of *Tiberius Gracchus*, a little before which time a *Luſtrum* being performed, 330823 Free Citizens were ceſs'd.

III. The Civil Diſſentions occaſion'd by *Gracchus*, did not die with him; his Law for the Diviſion of the Lands being ſtill in force, of which the People were ſo fond, that many Diſturbances were rais'd upon that Account. Now *Gracchus* had a younger Brother call'd *Caius*, who with *Flaccus*, and *Papirius*, had been made *Triumvirs* for dividing the Grounds. He with his Collegues undertook the Patronage of this Law, and performing his Office with great Vigour, ſuch Trouble aroſe about the Diviſions, the Reckonings, the Accounts, and Removals, that the *Italians* finding themſelves ſeverely preſs'd upon, betook themſelves to *Scipio Africanus* for Eaſe. *Scipio* did not altogether reject their Suit, nor yet would he make any Objections againſt the Law it ſelf; ſo he only mov'd in Senate, *That the Executive Power of it might be taken from the* Triumviri, *and lodg'd in ſome others.* The Senate moſt willingly agreed to this, and conferr'd it on *Sempronius Tuditanus* the Conſul; but he finding the Work troubleſome and ungrateful, retir'd from the City, under Pretence of the War in *Illyricum*. There being none at preſent to fly to in this Juncture, the People were much incens'd at *Scipio*, accounting him ungrateful, and a Favourer of the *Italians* more than themſelves: Which ill Opinions of him were increas'd by his approving of the Senior *U. C.* 625.

Gracchus's Death, and his reprimanding the Multitude for being dissatisfied with it. But such was his Fortune, that being one Night retir'd to his Chamber to meditate of something to speak to the People the next Day, in the Morning he was found dead in his Bed, not without Suspicion of Treachery from his Wife and Mother-in-law, the latter of which was Mother to the *Gracchi*. Nevertheless, being then in no favour with the People, little enquiry was made after his Death, tho' he was a Person of extraordinary Merits, and had been justly esteem'd the Bulwark of the State.

The Owners of the Land still made Delays in the Division, and some believ'd that the Partakers of the Dividends should likewise have the Freedom of the City; which, however lik'd of by others, was highly displeasing to the Senate. While the People were variously discoursing of these Matters, *Caius* obtain'd the *Tribuneship*, and bearing a great Enmity to the Senate, he found a fair Opportunity to shew it. He preferr'd several Laws, among the rest, one for dividing the publick Corn to every Man monthly; in which Laws he shew'd himself rather more stirring and active, and more dextrous than his Brother. Then procuring his Office to be continu'd to him another Year, he began more strictly to inspect into the late Corruptions of the Senate; such as their taking Bribes, their selling of Offices, and such like unjust Proceedings: Whereupon he found means to transfer the Power of judging corrupt Officers, from the Senators to the *Equites* or *Knights*, which gave the latter an extraordinary Authority, and made a remarkable Change and Alteration in the whole Government.

Equites. These *Equites* were first instituted by *Romulus*, and tho' they were originally in the Commonwealth, yet they had no particular Authority, Rank or Order, till this Law of *Gracchus*, by which it was enacted, *That these Judgments should be peculiar to them.* So that

that whereas at firſt, there were only two Orders or Ranks, namely, *Patrician* and *Plebeian*, which, thro' the Incroachments of the People, were afterwards diſtinguiſh'd only into *Senatorian* and *Plebeian*. By this Law, and eſpecially by the Procurement of *Cicero*, afterwards the *Equites* became a diſtinct Order. Thus now the *Roman* Citizens conſiſted of three Ranks or Orders, namely, the *Senatorian*, which included all the *Patritians*, and ſuch of the *Plebeians* as could riſe to be *Senators*; the *Plebeian*, which ſtill continu'd the ſame as formerly; and the *Equeſtrian*, which before had always been included in the *Plebeian*, and had been only diſtinguiſh'd by their way of Service. *Gracchus* took the faireſt Opportunity that he could expect for preferring this Law; for the Senators were become odious of late, becauſe for Money they had acquitted *Cotta*, *Salinator*, and *Aquilius*, Perſons capitally guilty of Corruption. But the great Power of theſe *Equites* became extreamly burdenſome to the State, till by degrees their Authority came to be diminiſh'd. The *Equites* alone were wont to farm the Publick Revenues and Cuſtoms from the *Cenſors*, and from thence had the Name of *Publicans*. Theſe were the principal of the *Equeſtrian* Order, the Ornaments of the City, and the Strength of the State, who made up ſo many Companies as there were Provinces ſubject to the Payment of Toll, Tribute, Cuſtom, or Impoſt. *Publicans*

Caius grew more and more in favour with the Commons, and was inveſted with a larger Authority than ordinary, which he manag'd with extraordinary Prudence and Cunning, being a Maſter of much Eloquence, and many other Accompliſhments. And the more to gratify the Commons, he took ſpecial care about the High-ways, making them extraordinary handſome and pleaſant, as well as uſeful and convenient; erecting likewiſe Pillars of Stone at the end of each Mile, to ſignify the diſtances from Place to Place: For *Caius* finding the Senators to be his Enemies, he

endeavoured ſtill more to ingratiate himſelf with the People by other new Laws; particularly, he propos'd that a Colony of *Roman* Citizens might be ſent to the People of *Tarentum*, and that all the *Latins* ſhould enjoy the ſame Privileges with the Citizens of *Rome*. But the Senate dreading the Effects of *Caius*'s Power, forbid the *Latins* to come near the City, at ſuch time as they knew his Laws would be propos'd; and the better to ſatisfy and pleaſe the People, they gave leave to the ſending of 12 Colonies. *Caius* thus fruſtrated of his Deſigns, departed into *Africk*, with *Flaccus* his Collegue, intending to plant a Colony where *Carthage* ſtood, calling it *Junonia*; but there he alſo met with a Diſappointment, the Bound-marks of the intended City being continually remov'd in the Night-time by Wolves, as ſome Authors relate it; whereupon the *Augurs* and *Southſayers* pronounc'd the Deſign unlawful.

Caius having been twice *Tribune*, ſtood for it a third time, and had many Votes; but his Collegues, offended at his violent Carriage at this time, procur'd *Minutius Rufus* to be choſen into his Place, who began to abrogate many of his Laws; wherein he was ſeconded by *Opimius* the Conſul, who was a profeſs'd Enemy to *Caius*, and endeavour'd to find ſome colourable Pretence to put him to death. Whereupon *Caius*, at the Inſtigation of his Friends, eſpecially *Fulvius*, reſolv'd preſently to raiſe Forces, and at an Aſſembly in the *Capitol*, he and many of his Friends went thither privately arm'd. It happen'd that one *Antilius*, a Serjeant, coming down from the *Capitol*, cry'd out to *Fulvius* and his Friends, *Ye factious Citizens, make way for honeſt Men!* whereupon they immediately ſlew him. This Murther caus'd a great Diſturbance in the Aſſembly, and *Caius* himſelf was very angry with thoſe of his Party, for giving his Enemies ſo much Advantage againſt him, and endeavour'd to excuſe himſelf, but could not be heard by reaſon of the Tumult; ſo together with his Friends

and

and Confederates, he retir'd home, the Conſul keeping ſtrict Watch all Night in the City. The next Day *Antilius*'s Corps was brought upon a Bier thro' the *Forum*, and expoſed to open View juſt before the Senate-Houſe, with deſign to ſtir up the People to a Revenge. The Senate inveſted *Opimius* with an extraordinary Power, and all the *Equites* were order'd to be in Arms, which forc'd *Caius* and all his Friends to betake themſelves to Mount *Aventine*, where they fortify'd themſelves, offering Liberty to all Slaves that ſhould come in to them.

The Conſul preſs'd hard upon *Caius*, and Proclamation was made, *That whoever ſhould bring the Head either of* Caius *or* Fulvius, *ſhould receive their Weight in Gold for a Reward.* *Caius* finding himſelf in no Condition for a long Defence, in a ſhort time fled into a Grove beyond *Tiber*, and procur'd his Servant to kill him, who immediately after kill'd himſelf, and fell down dead upon his Maſter. One *Septimuleius* carried his Head to *Opimius*, and 'tis ſaid, that to make it weigh the heavier, he took out the Brains, and fill'd the Skull with Lead. *Fulvius* flying to a Friend's Houſe, was betray'd and ſlain; and by the Severity of *Opimius*, no leſs than 3000 Perſons of his Party were put to Death. Thus fell *Caius Gracchus*, above 10 Years after his Brother *Tiberius Gracchus*, and ſix after he began to act much in the Commonwealth. Theſe *Gracchi* had ſo far chang'd the Conſtitutions of the Commonwealth, and the Publick Peace was now ſo broken, particularly by the Diſunion of *Patrons* and *Clients*, that the *Roman* State became very unſettled, and more liable to any new Revolution than ever; and tho' Reformation might be their Deſign, yet it might well be feared, that Ruin would be the Effect of ſuch Diſturbances in a Commonwealth now ſo corrupted with the Greatneſs of their Riches, as well as the Greatneſs of their Power. *Caius*'s Death happen'd in the 621ſt Year of the City, in the 4th Year of the

164th *Olympiad*, 386 Years since the beginning of the *Consular* State, 207 since the setting up of the *Macedonian* Empire, and 121 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. XIII.

From the End of the Seditions of the Gracchi, *to the End of the First Civil War in* Italy, *and to the Perpetual* Dictatorship *of* Sylla; *which was the second great Step to the Ruin of the* Consular State.

Containing the Space of 41 *Years.*

I. THE Distempers and Disturbances of the Commonwealth were for the present asswag'd by the Death of *Caius Gracchus*; and soon after, a Law was made, that any one might sell his Land, which the Senior *Gracchus* had forbidden; by which means the Poor, partly by Purchase, and partly by Constraint, were again dispossess'd. After that, the Law for Division of Lands was fully abrogated by *Borcus*, and the Grounds left to their ancient Owners, with a *Proviso* to pay a Tribute to the People out of 'em. But not long after, the Tribute was likewise all taken away, and so nothing was left remaining for the Poor. During these Domestick Troubles, the *Sardinians* rebell'd, and were reduc'd by *Aurelius*, and the *Fregellans* were punish'd with the Loss of their City by *Opimius* the *Prætor*. About which time *Africk* was infected with a most prodigious Plague, destroying vast Numbers of Men, Cattel, and Fowl, occasion'd by an infinite Number of Locusts, which having over-spread the Ground, and destroy'd the Corn

Corn, Fruits, and even Trees themſelves, at length were driven by a Wind into the *Mediterranean* Sea, and there putrefying, corrupted the Air after a moſt wonderful manner. Two Years after this *Metellus* the Conſul ſubdu'd the Iſlands *Beleares* near *Spain*, and reſtrain'd all the Piracies which were there maintain'd.

At the ſame time was carry'd on that War call'd *Bellum Allobrogicum*, the War with the *Allobroges*, a People inhabiting about the Countries, now call'd *Dauphine* and *Savoy*. This War was occaſion'd firſt by the *Salies*, a People of *Gaul* beyond the *Alps*, who invading the *Maſſilians*, Allies of *Rome*, were chaſtis'd by *Fulvius*, and ſubdu'd by *Sextus Calvinus*. *Teutomalus* their King flying out of the Battel, was receiv'd and protected by the *Allobroges*, who likewiſe invaded the *Hedui*, Allies of *Rome*, and drew into Confederacy the *Averni*. The *Allobroges* were firſt overthrown by *Domitius Ænobarbus*, who kill'd 20000 of 'em, and took 3000 Priſoners, which great Victory was owing chiefly to his Elephants. After him *Fabius Maximus*, Grandſon to *Paulus Æmilius*, and adopted into the *Fabian* Family, defeated 'em, with the *Averni* and *Ruteni*, in a moſt bloody Battel, where 120000 were reported to be ſlain; and moreover, taking one of their Kings Priſoners, he obtain'd the Surname of *Allobrogicus*. About which time *Gallia Narbonenſis* was reduc'd into a Province, in the Year 636. Not long after, the *Scordiſci*, a People of the Original, inhabiting *Thrace*, defeated the *Roman* Army under *Cato* the Conſul, yet were afterwards driven back into their own Country by *Didius* the *Prætor*, and the Conſul *Druſus*; and after this they gave occaſion of a glorious Triumph to *Minutius*, of which Honour *Metellus* alſo had a ſhare. Soon after theſe Wars, in a *Luſtration*, 394336 Free Citizens were poll'd in *Rome*, which Number was very little different from that in the *Luſtrum* five Years before. U. C. 634.

U. C. 613. II. *Rome* had not very much Action abroad for a while, but in no long time began a conſiderable War in *Numidia*, call'd the *Jugurthine* War. It was occaſion'd by *Jugurth*, Grandſon to the famous *Maſaniſſa*, the *Roman* old Friend, who murder'd his Couſin *Hiempſal* to get his Kingdom, and attempted to do the ſame to his Brother *Adherbal*; but he made his eſcape, and fled to the *Romans* for Succour. Whereupon *Jugurth* being ſenſible how much Avarice and Injuſtice had crept into the City, he ſent his Ambaſſadors with large Preſents to *Rome*, which had ſuch Effects upon the Senate, that they decreed him half the Kingdom, and ſent ten Commiſſioners to divide it between him and *Adherbal*. The Commiſſioners thinking they might lawfully imitate their Maſters in the Senate, were alſo brib'd to beſtow the moſt rich and populous Part upon *Jugurth*; but he ſtill unſatisfy'd, fell ſuddenly upon *Adherbal*, beſieg'd him in *Cirta*, and getting him into his Hands, likewiſe murder'd him. For this, War was decreed againſt *Jugurth*, and committed to the Management of *Calpurnius Beſtia* the Conſul, who ſhortly after invaded *Numidia* with great Vigour and Diligence, and took in ſome Towns; but he was ſoon ſtop'd in his Career, being overcome by the Golden Weapons of *Jugurth*, ſo that a Treaty of Peace was ſoon ſet on foot. The Senate were a little mov'd at this, and at the Power of *Scaurus*, who accompanying the Conſul, as his Friend and Counſellor, was likewiſe guilty of the ſame Crime; and therefore the People got *Caſſius Longinus* the *Prætor* to go and procure *Jugurth* to come to *Rome* upon the Publick Faith of the State, that by that means they might diſcover all ſuch as had been guilty of Bribery.

Caſſius with no great difficulty perſwaded *Jugurtha* to make tryal of the Clemency of *Rome*, and to throw himſelf upon the Peoples Mercy; whereupon he came ro *Rome* in a pitiful and mournful Habit,

But

But coming into the Aſſembly, *Bæbius* the *Tribune* bad him hold his Peace, he being alſo brib'd to defer the Buſineſs, and delude the People. At the ſame time was one *Maſſina* in *Rome*, *Jugurth*'s Couſin-German, who had fled from *Africk* formerly. This Perſon was perſwaded by *Albinus* the Conſul to beg the Kingdom of the Senate; but *Jugurth* having ſome Intelligence of the Deſign, procur'd him to be aſſaſſinated, and convey'd the Murderer away to *Numidia*. Hereupon, within a few Days, he was commanded to be gone, and being out of the City, he look'd upon it, with his Hands lifted up, crying, *O* Rome, *that would'ſt be ſold thy Self, were there but a Chapman for thee!* So extremely were the Inhabitants degenerated from their former Fidelity, Modeſty and Abſtinence, which afterwards brought upon them the greateſt Miſeries that ever befel any State. *Albinus* follow'd him with an Army, which after he himſelf had been ſome time there, he left with his Brother *Aulus*, who in the Conſul's Abſence, by vertue of ſome Compact, withdrew from *Suthul*, where the chief Treaſure of the Kingdom lay, when he was juſt upon inveſting it. The Centurions were likewiſe ſo corrupted, that when *Albinus* return'd, *Jugurth* was ſuffer'd to break into the Camp, whence beating out the Army, he either forc'd, or by former Agreement, brought *Albinus* to ſubmit upon moſt diſhonourable Terms.

In this Condition did *Metellus*, the following Conſul, find Affairs, and the whole Army was almoſt ruin'd for want of Diſcipline, to the great Diſhonour of the *Roman* State, and the grievous Vexation of the honeſter Sort in the City. *Metellus* having with much difficulty brought his Soldiers into good Order, within the Space of two Years overthrew *Jugurth* ſeveral times, forc'd him out of ſeveral Towns, and purſu'd him beyond his own Frontiers, which conſtrain'd him to ſubmit and beg Peace; but he in a ſhort time broke the Conditions of it,

and

and ſo the former Hoſtility return'd. At this time, one *C. Marius* was *Legatus*, or *Lieutenant* to *Metellus*, a Perſon of Frugality, Policy, and Military Experience, and of vaſt Courage in War; a Contemner of Pleaſure, but very ambitious of Honour, which made him extremely deſirous to gain the *Conſulſhip*. To obtain this, he privately blam'd *Metellus*, to the Merchants of *Utica*, avowing, *That he was able with half the Army to take* Jugurth *Priſoner, and that within few Days.* By theſe and the like detracting Diſcourſes, he procur'd many Complaints to be written to *Rome* againſt *Metellus*, and getting leave to go thither, obtain'd the *Conſulſhip*, and had likewiſe the Management of the War committed to him. Notwithſtanding, the People were ſo grateful to *Metellus*, that at his return, being ſatisfy'd as to his Behaviour, they both granted him a Triumph, and beſtow'd upon him the Surname of *Numidicus*, as an additional Honour.

Marius ſhew'd himſelf a very expert Warrior, and in a ſhort time took the City *Capſa*, a Place very rich and ſtrong; and after this, another call'd *Mulucha*. *Jugurth* now finding himſelf too weak to oppoſe him any longer, procur'd *Bocchus*, King of *Mauritania*, and his Father-in-law, to join with him, who, by the Aſſiſtance of his numerous Cavalry, much harraſs'd the *Roman* Army. *Marius* had inveſted *Cirta*, and *Bocchus* approaching to raiſe the Siege, partly by the Number of his Horſe, reported to be 60000, and partly by the violent Heats and great Duſts, the *Romans* were ſorely diſtreſs'd, and the Fight continu'd dangerous and terrible to them for three Days; at the end of which, a Tempeſt of Rain falling, ſpoil'd the Enemies Weapons, and reliev'd *Marius*'s Men, almoſt famiſh'd with Thirſt; and now the Courſe of Fortune changing, the two Kings were entirely defeated. In another Battel, *Marius*, 'tis ſaid, kill'd 90000; after which *Bocchus* began to repent of his Enterprize, and ſent to *Rome* to enter into

into a League, which he could not procure; nevertheleſs he obtain'd Pardon for his Crime. Not long after *Marius* took *Jugurth* in an Ambuſcade, whither he had drawn him by ſpecious Pretences, and deliver'd him up to *Sylla* his *Quæſtor*, who had brought over ſome Forces from *Italy*; and under *Marius* he learnt that Skill in War, which he afterwards employ'd againſt him. *Jugurth*, with his two Sons, were led in Triumph by *Marius*; and ſhortly after, by Order of the Senate, he was put to Death, and ſo the *Jugurthine* War ended, after it had continu'd about ſeven Years.

III. At the ſame time a War was carry'd on againſt the *Cimbri*, a vagabond People of *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, now call'd *Denmark*, who joining with the *Teutones*, a Nation of the *Germans*, made dreadful Irruptions into ſeveral Parts of the *Roman* Dominions, particularly *Gaul* and *Spain*, where they had overthrown ſeveral *Conſuls*, in the laſt Battel killing 80000 *Romans*; after which they reſolv'd to paſs the *Alps* into *Italy*. *Rome* began now to be in a great Conſternation, and *Marius* having juſt vanquiſh'd *Jugurtha*, they made him Conſul a ſecond time, as the only Man thought able to manage ſo threatning a War, and to preſerve the State. While they continu'd in *Spain*, *Marius* march'd againſt their Friends, the *Toloſons* in *Gaul*, where King *Copilus* was taken by *Sylla* his Lieutenant. Being made Conſul again the following Year, he declin'd Fighting till the Enemies Force was weaken'd by Delays. The next Year, in his fourth Conſulſhip, the Enemy, in three ſeveral Parties, were juſt upon paſſing the *Alps* into *Italy*; and as he attended their Motions, it happen'd that his Army was extremely afflicted with Thirſt, the *Teutones* and *Ambrones* lying between them and the Water, which Neceſſity brought him to an Engagement with 'em; and in two Days time, he, by his excellent Conduct, utterly deſtroy'd them, taking

U. C. 650.

Thou-

Theutobocchus their King Priſoner. The *Cimbri* eſcap'd him, and fled over into *Italy*, notwithſtanding the Winter-Seaſon, and the *Alps* cover'd with Snow, being in vain oppos'd by *Catulus*, both at the *Alps*, and at the River *Atheſis*, nigh *Verona*. The Year following *Marius* was again made Conſul, and joining with *Catulus*, was challeng'd by the Enemy to give Battel. Whereupon he fell upon their numerous Army, and gave them a moſt dreadful Overthrow; their Wives all the while making a wonderful Reſiſtance from the Chariots; and when they ſaw all things in a deſperate Condition, they in a great Fury firſt kill'd all their Children, and after that themſelves. About 140000 were ſlain in this Battel, and 60000 taken Priſoners, which ended this War, after it had continu'd 12 Years, *Marius* (the fifth time) and *Aquilius Nepos* being Conſuls: The former was then eſteemed the Preſerver of his Country, and contented himſelf with one Triumph, when he might have had more; and his Collegue had now alſo finiſh'd the ſecond *Servile* War in *Sicily*, which had laſted almoſt four Years.

Notwithſtanding theſe Dangers abroad, the City was not without Domeſtick Troubles, which were occaſion'd by *Saturnius*, one of *Marius*'s Friends, who having been *Quaſtor* at *Oſtia*, during a Famine, was turn'd out of his Place by the Senate; to revenge which Uſage, he procur'd the *Tribuneſhip*. But after his Year was expir'd, *Metellus Nimiaicus*, formerly mention'd, being *Cenſor*, endeavour'd to remove him from the *Senate*, but was hinder'd by his Collegue. This ſo enrag'd him, that he ſtood again for the *Tribuneſhip*; and nine of the ten *Tribunes* being choſen by the Aſſiſtance of *Marius*, he murder'd *Nonius* his Competitor, and ſo obtain'd the Place. Now being once again in Power, he preferr'd a Law for the Diviſion of ſuch Lands as *Marius* had recovered in *Gaul*, and compell'd the *Senate* to ſwear to it, which Oath *Numidicus* refuſing, he ſet him a Day

to

to anſwer it before the People; but for fear of him and *Marius* together, *Numidicus* fled to *Smyrna* in *Aſia*. *Saturninus* procuring the Tribuneſhip a third time, and finding *Memmius* Candidate for the *Conſulſhip*, he alſo caus'd him to be murder'd, to make way for *Glaucius* the *Prætor*, one of his own Party. Theſe baſe and ungenerous Practices rais'd ſeveral Troubles and Commotions in the City, and the *Senate* reſolv'd to make him anſwer it; whereupon *Marius*, now a ſixth time Conſul, perceiving him in a declining Condition, very politickly withdrew himſelf from his Friendſhip. The Conſuls were now, as in ſome other dangerous Times, inveſted with an unuſual and *Dictatorian* ſort of Power, the manner of conferring of which was by a Vote of the *Senate*, in theſe or the like Words, *Videant Conſules ne quid detrimenti Republica accipiat*. *Marius* therefore, with his Collegue, ſet upon *Saturninus* in the publick Aſſembly, and forc'd him and his Followers into the *Capitol*, where, for want of Water, they were conſtrain'd to yield; after *Marius* had given 'em his Faith for their Safety. *Saturninus* and *Glaucius* much rely'd upon *Marius*, not ſcrupling to give out, *That they were but the Actors and Inſtruments of his Deſigns.* But notwithſtanding this Security, they were all cut in pieces by the *Equites* in the *Forum*, who broke in among 'em; and *Numidicus*, eſpecially by his Son's Induſtry, was recall'd, with the general Applauſe of the People. U. C. 654.

The Wars abroad, and the Diſſentions and Corruptions at home, did not hinder Learning, for that ſtill flouriſh'd more than ever, and Poetry was come almoſt to its higheſt Pitch in *Rome*; for a little before this, flouriſh'd the famous *Lucretius*, an admirable Poet in his kind, and in many Particulars ſcarce inferior to *Virgil*. Now for the ſpace of ſeven or eight Years, there was no great Action abroad, nor any open Sedition at home; but however there was great Diſſatisfaction among thoſe of the *Senatorian* Order,

Order, by reaſon of the Power of Judicature, given to the *Equites* by *C. Gracchus*'s Laws, which prov'd an extraordiaary Grievance to them. The Commonwealth too was bought and ſold; the *Publicans*, who farm'd the Publick Revenues, being, as they were *Equites*, both Judges and Parties. Upon theſe Accounts, *Druſus* the *Tribune*, a very eminent and well-deſigning Perſon, endeavour'd to reſtore the Fathers to their ancient Privileges and Authority, and yet not offend the *Equites*; and therefore the *Senate* being now reduc'd to a ſmall Number, he preferr'd a Law, that as many *Equites* ſhould be added to them, and that the Power of Judicature ſhould be committed equally to all that ſhould be then of this Body. This gave great Offence to both Parties; and *Cæpio*, alſo one of *Druſus*'s Collegues, oppos'd him, and coming into the *Senate*, there accus'd ſome of the higheſt Rank of illegal Endeavours to gain Offices. *Druſus*, to withſtand his Deſigns, again propos'd the *Agrarian* Law; and that the Allies and Confederates of *Italy*, the preſent Poſſeſſors, might not take it amiſs, he gave 'em hopes of the Freedom of the City. A great Concourſe of Strangers was occaſion'd upon this account, and as great a Contention rais'd; where *Philippus* the Conſul, for oppoſing the Law for dividing the Lands, was diſgracefully buffeted by one of the Strangers, and violent Diſturbances follow'd. *Druſus*, diſappointed in this Particular, ſtill endeavour'd to perform his Promiſe to the *Italians*; but going home, accompany'd with a great multitude of People, he was ſtabb'd in the Court of his own Houſe, having Breath enough to ſay, *That the Commonwealth could never find a Perſon more true to her Intereſt than he.*

U. C. *663.* IV. Theſe Troubles did not end with *Druſus*'s Death; for ſoon after, a very dangerous War broke out upon this account with moſt of the *Italians*, call'd the *Social* or *Italian* War. Theſe People had, for

for ſome time, taken it very heinouſly, that they were deny'd the Freedom of the City, which had been partly promis'd them in the time of the *Gracchi*. But now *Druſus*'s Death, who had very much heightned their Expectations, inrag'd them more than ever, eſpecially when the *Equites*, immediately after, had, by force of Arms, procur'd a Law for baniſhing all the great Perſons who were not for their Intereſt. The *Italians* alſo thought that they had ſufficient Reaſon to expect this Privilege from that City, whoſe Subſiſtence and Empire had been ſo much maintain'd by their Valour, they commonly ſending out double the number of Troops to thoſe of *Rome*. Upon theſe Grounds they reſolv'd to procure that by Force and Violence, which could not be obtain'd by Intreaties and civil Means, and thereupon they join'd together in a cloſe Confederacy, and privately ſent Meſſages and Hoſtages to each other; namely, the *Lucanians*, *Apulians*, *Marſi*, *Peligni*, with many others, and eſpecially the old Enemies of *Rome*, the *Samnites*, who made their Preparations with equal Diligence and Secreſy.

Theſe private Tranſactions being diſcover'd at *Rome*, tho' late enough, Spies were immediately ſent out into all Quarters, to make what further Diſcoveries they could. One of which happening to ſee a young Man of *Aſculum* carry'd into another City for an Hoſtage, thereupon acquainted *Servilius* the Proconſul, who, going to *Aſculum*, and reprimanding the Citizens of that Place, was ſet upon and ſlain, together with all the *Romans*. Their Deſigns being now wholly diſcover'd, for their greater Security they all broke out into an open Rebellion: However firſt, they thought it moſt convenient to ſend to *Rome* to complain; but their Meſſengers could not be admitted without Satisfaction and Repentance for what they had already done. Whereupon the War was committed to both the Conſuls, together with *Marius* and *Sylla*, and ſeveral others who

who had *Proconſular* Authority, the Forces on either Side amounting to about 100000 fighting Men. The War was very dangerous and deſtructive, and *Rutilius* the Conſul in a ſhort time loſt his Life, falling into an Ambuſcade laid by the *Marſi*; and the *Romans* receiv'd many terrible Blows, ſo that they were conſtrain'd to liſt many who had been Slaves. The Bodies of the Conſuls, and ſeveral others, being carried into the City, ſo diſcourag'd the People, that the *Senate* made a Decree, that henceforward the Bodies of the Slain ſhould be bury'd where they dy'd, which, as a prudent Example, was likewiſe follow'd by the Enemy. After the Death of *Rutilius*, his Army was committed to *Marius* his Lieutenant, and *Cæpio*, who acted in Conjunction with him. *Cæpio* was ſlain not long after in an Ambuſcade laid by *Popedius*, one of the *Italian* Generals; ſo *Marius* had his Deſire of Commanding alone, and did excellent Service, as likewiſe did *Sylla* the ſame Year.

For the following Year, *Pompeius Strabo*, Father to *Pompey* the Great, and *Porcius Cato*, were made *Conſuls*, and now the *Senate* thought fit to give the Freedom of the City to ſuch of the *Italians* as had not revolted, which much eſtabliſh'd thoſe who were ſomewhat wavering in their Minds, and abated the Courage of the other already ingag'd: Yet theſe were not choſen into any of the 35 *Tribes*, but were plac'd by themſelves behind all, ſo that in voting they could not hinder the reſt, which afterwards caus'd ſome Diſturbance. *Cato* the Conſul did very good Service this Campaign, which ſwell'd him with ſuch an Opinion of himſelf, that he boaſted himſelf equal to *Marius*, for which he was ſlain by *Marius*'s Son, in the midſt of a Battel againſt the *Marſi*. His Collegue *Pompey* overthrew the *Picentes* and *Aſculani*; and having long beſieg'd *Aſculum*, he defeated the Enemy which ſally'd out upon him; he likewiſe kill'd 18000 of the *Marſi*, taking 3000 Priſoners. And at loſt poſ-

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ſeſſing himſelf of *Aſculum*, he caus'd all the Officers and principal Men in the City, to be firſt ſcourg'd, and then beheaded. *Sylla* alſo perform'd many great Actions, overthrowing the *Samnites*, and ſtorming two of their Camps; which Succeſs ſo elevated him, that he immediately ſtood for the Conſulſhip, and obtain'd it, having the Honour likewiſe of finiſhing this dangerous War, nigh three Years after it was begun; a War ſo deſtructive, that it conſum'd above 300000 of the Youth of *Italy*, according to *Paterculus*. This War was ended with a Diſturbance in the City about Uſury, and the unexpected Privileges of the conquer'd *Italians*, who had the Freedom of the City given 'em, juſt as the others had a ſhort time before, and ſo all things were happily quieted.

V. But Quiet and Peace was too great a Happineſs for *Rome* at this time, for the *Social* War was ſcarce finiſh'd, when two others broke out, one the Cauſe of the other. The firſt was with *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, in *Aſia Minor*, a Prince famous for his Knowledge and Learning, mighty in Riches and Power, of a boundleſs Ambition, and a Former of vaſt Deſigns. This King, by ſeveral Actions, had gain'd the Enmity of *Rome*, particularly by procuring *Tigranes* King of *Armenia* to declare againſt the *Roman* State, and by his over-running his Neighbours the *Bithynians*, *Phrygians*, *Myſians*, *Lycians*, *Pamphilians*, and other Allies of *Rome*. And which was more provoking than all the reſt, he had taken *Q. Oppius* and *Aquilius*, the latter of which he kill'd, by pouring melted Gold down his Throat, continually upbraiding the *Romans* with Avarice and Corruption. Upon all theſe Accounts, the *Romans* proclaim'd War againſt him; and *Sylla* and *Pompeius Rufus* being Conſuls, it fell to the former's ſhare to undertake it. But *Sylla* having not yet quite finiſh'd the *Social* War, *Marius*, ſtirr'd by the Deſire either of Profit or of Honour, perſuaded *Sulpicius* *U. C.* 666.

picius, Tribune of the People, to prefer a Law for transferring the Management of this War from *Sylla* to him. He made what Parties he could, and drew the People of *Italy* to his ſide, who had lately been made free of the City, by promiſing 'em equal Privileges with thoſe in the 35 *Tribes*, which as yet they wanted; ſo that Matters were carry'd on with violent Heats and Contentions; and *Pompey*'s Son, and Son-in-law to *Sylla*, was kill'd in the midſt of theſe Tumults and Diſturbances.

Sylla hearing of theſe dangerous Commotions, haſten'd to the City, eaſily perſwaded his Army to ſtand by him in all Exigencies; for they were very unwilling to have any other go on that Expedition, from which they promis'd themſelves ſuch great Advantages. His Collegue *Pompey* join'd with him, and tho' *Marius*, and *Sulpicius* the *Tribune*, made all poſſible Oppoſition, yet, after ſome Difficulty and Bloodſhed, they enter'd the City, and *Marius* with his Accomplices were forc'd to betake themſelves to flight; and thus began the other War, which was the firſt Civil War of any Note among the *Romans*, as the Troubles of the *Gracchi* were the firſt in which there had been any Bloodſhed of Note. *Sylla* did no Injury to the Citizens in general, but revers'd all that *Sulpicius* had done, regulated the *Senate*, procur'd *Marius*, *Sulpicius*, and ten other leading Men, to be declar'd open Enemies to their Country, made it lawful for any Perſon to kill them, and ſet their Goods to publick Sale. Shortly after this, he departed upon his Expedition againſt *Mithridates*, who now had very much extended his Conqueſts, even to the ſubduing a great Part of *Greece* it ſelf. *Sulpicius* was in a ſhort time taken and put to death; but *Marius* hid himſelf in the Fens of *Minturnum*, where, being diſcover'd, a *Gaul* was ſent to kill him; but he was ſo daſh'd and amaz'd at the Nobleneſs of his Preſence, that he could not perform his Order: So that *Marius* being convey'd

out

out of that Place, eſcap'd into *Africk*, where he was join'd by *Cethegus* and others, who had fled into *Numidia*, expecting a convenient Opportunity to invade their own Country. *Pompeius Rufus* the Conſul, to ſecure *Italy*, was at the ſame time appointed to receive and command the Army of *Pompeius Strabo*, who had done great Service in the *Social* War, and had ſo far gain'd the Affections of his Men, that they finding they were like to part with their old General, ſtood up and ſlew the Conſul himſelf; ſo that now there were great Dangers and Diſturbances in all Parts.

Cornelius Cinna and *C. Octavius* were made Conſuls for the following Year: *Cinna*, corrupted, as ſome are of Opinion, immediately declar'd himſelf for the new Citizens, and recall'd *Marius*, with the reſt of the Exiles; which Actions were ſo violently oppos'd by his Collegue *Octavius*, that *Cinna* was by Force driven from the City, and *Merula* put in his Place. *Cinna*, upon this, going about to the *Italian* People, by giving them freſh Hopes of equal Privileges with the *Romans*, and ptetending, *That all his Troubles and Sufferings were purely for their ſakes*, obtain'd great Sums of Money. *Marius* alſo coming over to him ſhortly, they, together, rais'd a conſiderable Army, and *Cinna* march'd directly to *Rome*, and ſat down before it, to the great Surprize and Terror of the Inhabitants. *Marius* at the ſame time march'd againſt *Oſtia*, and took it by Force; but *Cinna*, before *Rome*, finding he was not likely to carry the Place, broke up the Siege, and inveſted *Arminium*, which he ſoon after ſtorm'd. *Marius*, after the taking of *Oſtia*, advanc'd with his whole Army, and poſted himſelf upon the Hill *Janiculum*, joining to *Rome*; which again put the Inhabitants into a great Conſternation, eſpecially for that he was ſoon after join'd by *Cinna*. The Conſuls, finding they could not recall *Sylla* from Countries ſo far diſtant, ſent to *Metellus*, then lying

with an Army in *Samnium*; but he differing with them about ſome Conditions, ſhortly after join'd himſelf with *Marius*: At which Time the City was nigh being betray'd by *Ap. Claudius*, a *Tribune* of the Army, who was inveſted with the Command of the *Janiculum*; but tho' he and *Cinna* broke in, they were repell'd by *Octavius*, and *Pompeius Strabo* the *Proconſul*, who was ſhortly after kill'd with a Thunder-bolt.

Marius, after this, took in ſeveral Towns about *Rome* where Proviſions lay, and *Cinna*, by the fair Promiſes of Liberty, drew great Numbers of Slaves out of the City; which the Senate perceiving, diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors to *Cinna* and *Marius*, deſiring them *to come into the City Peaceably, and ſpare their own Country-men.* *Cinna* refus'd to admit of any Addreſs made to him as a Private Man, ſo that they were forc'd to treat with him as *Conſul*, and deſir'd him to ſwear *that he wou'd ſhed no Blood.* *Cinna* abſolutely refus'd to take ſuch an Oath; but promis'd, *that knowingly and willingly he wou'd not be the Cauſe of any Man's Death: Marius* ſtood by him, and ſaid nothing, but gave ſufficient Teſtimony by the Soureneſs of his Countenance, and the Sternneſs of his Looks, that he wou'd ſhortly fill the City with Maſſacres. But the better to diſſemble his Rage, he at laſt broke Silence, telling the Ambaſſadors, *That he was then in Exile, and baniſh'd his Country by courſe of Law; that if his Preſence were neceſſary, they muſt repeal the former Act of his Baniſhment by a new Decree, that he might be received as a Religious Obſerver of the Laws, and might enter the City free from Fear or Oppreſſion.* Upon this all Matters were adjuſted, and the Law for baniſhing *Marius*, and his Aſſociates, abrogated.

Upon their Entrance into the City, great Plunderings and miſerable Slaughters began in all Places. *Octavius* the Conſul, tho' he had the Oath of *Cinna* and *Marius*, yet refuſing to fly from his Charge, was kill'd, and his Head ſet upon the *Roſtra*, to which was

was added that of *M. Antonius*, Grandfather to the *Triumvir* was *Augustus*, an excellent Orator, who by the Charms of his Eloquence defended himself a considerable time against the Rage of the Soldiers, and several others. Dreadful Tumults and Out-cries were in all Places; and none were spar'd either for the Dignity of their Worths, or their Ages. The dead Bodies being barbarously mangled, and abominably abus'd, were left to be torn in pieces, and devour'd by Dogs and Fowls, none daring to bury 'em. All *Sylla*'s Friends were slaughter'd without Mercy, his House demolish'd, his Goods set to Sale, and he himself judg'd and declar'd an Enemy to *Rome*. *Merula*, tho' he never sought the Consulship, and *Catullus*, having their Days set them to answer for their Lives, destroy'd themselves. *Cinna* and *Marius* having thus satiated themselves with the Blood of others, made themselves Consuls for the following Year; but *Marius* dy'd about a Month after, in the 70th Year of his Age, within less than two Years after the breaking out of this Civil War, being a noble Soldier, and a brave Commander, but much more serviceable to his Country in the time of War than in Peace, and the only Person who had the Honour of the Consulship seven times.

VI. In the time of these unhappy Troubles at home, *Sylla* perform'd many noble Exploits against *Mithridates*, who not long before his Arrival had commanded in one Day 80000, some say 150000 *Romans* and *Italians* in *Asia*, to be murder'd in cold Blood. *Sylla* first overthrew *Archeaus* his General nigh *Athens*, so effectually, that of his 120000 Men, scarce 10000 were left; then he gave him another great Defeat, recover'd *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Ionia*, *Asia*, and other Countries, which *Mithridates* had got into his Hands, and withal took his Fleet from him; insomuch that *Mithridates* was very willing to come to a Treaty, which *Sylla*, notwithstanding *Mithridates*'s high Provo-

cation before, was not much averse to, being in want of Money, and very desirous to return to *Italy*, and to revenge himself of those who had declar'd him an Enemy to *Rome*. The principal Articles of the Peace were, *That* Mithridates *should pay the Charges of the War, and that for the future he should be content with his Father's Kingdom*; which were ratify'd in less than three Years after the beginning of the War. *Sylla* severely tax'd *Asia* for its Revolt, and settling Affairs according to the present Occasion, he return'd for *Italy*. He took *Athens* in his way, from whence he carry'd the famous Library of *Apellicon* the *Teian*, in which were most of the Books of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*, then not vulgarly known. He soon after wrote to the Senate at *Rome*, recounting all his great Services he had done for the State, and how ungratefully he had been us'd by *Marius*'s Party, telling them plainly, *That he was coming to revenge both himself and the Publick, by punishing the Authors of those Injuries, tho' the rest he wou'd spare, whether they were old or new Citizens.*

The Senate extremely dreaded the Effects of *Sylla*'s Return, well knowing it wou'd be fatal to many, and even to some who had unwillingly join'd with *Marius*; therefore they sent to treat with him, offering all their Endeavours for his Satisfaction, if he would quickly make known his Demands. And that there might be the less Blood shed, they order'd *Cinna* to discontinue his Levies; but he finding there was no way of supporting his Interest, but by Arms, only return'd them a plausible Answer, and proceeded to raise Soldiers, designing to make himself and his Collegue *Carbo* Consuls for the following Year, that there might be no necessity of returning to *Rome* for a new Election. He sent over part of his Troops into *Dalmatia*, there to meet *Sylla*; but those behind were driven back to *Italy* by a Storm; after which they absolutely refus'd to fight against their own Country-men; so that all the rest, who as yet had not put to Sea, refus'd

fus'd to go on board. Hereupon *Cinna* going to ſpeak with 'em, one of his Officers who made way before him, ſtruck one of 'em; at which the Soldier ſtruck him again, and being apprehended for this Crime, a great Tumult and Mutiny aroſe among the reſt of the Men, wherein *Cinna* himſelf was run through; and thus periſh'd in his fourth *Conſulſhip*, a Perſon worthier to have dy'd by the Command of the Conqueror, than by the Fury of the Soldiers. *Carbo* continu'd Conſul by himſelf the remaining Part of the Year.

Sylla before this time had receiv'd the Senate's Propoſals, and return'd for Anſwer, *That he wou'd never be reconcil'd to ſuch wicked Perſons as* Cinna *and* Carbo, *who beſides many pernicious Practices againſt their Country's Good, had procur'd War to be decreed againſt him who had done it ſo much Service: But if the People of* Rome *wou'd give 'em Indemnity, he ſhou'd not oppoſe it; yet he thought all ſuch as came over to him to be far more ſafe, ſince he had ſo conſiderable an Army at his Devotion.* This ſufficiently declaring his Intentions; he alſo demanding Reſtitution of his Eſtate, his ancient Dignity and Honours; but the Meſſengers coming to *Brunduſium*, and there hearing of *Cinna*'s Death, and the Diſturbances of the Commonwealth, return'd back to him. *Sylla* then croſs'd the Sea with a Fleet of 1600 Ships, and 60000 Men, and landed at *Brunduſium*, where he was join'd by *Metellus Pius*, who had retir'd from *Rome* for fear of *Marius* and *Cinna*, and likewiſe by *Pompey*, afterward ſurnam'd the *Great*, who from this time became *Sylla*'s great Favourite. Beſides theſe, came alſo *Cethegus*, who having before join'd with *Cinna*, now begg'd Pardon, and was receiv'd into Favour. *Norbanus* and *Scipio*, the preſent Conſuls, together with *Carbo*, made all neceſſary Preparations for Reſiſtance; and the firſt trial at Arms was at *Canuſium*, where *Norbanus* loſt 6000 Men, and fled to *Capua*. His Collegue *Scipio* ſhortly after, through the Treachery of his Army, fell with his

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Son into the Hands of *Sylla*, who civilly diſmiſs'd them both. After this, *Sylla* ſent to *Norbanus* to treat of Peace; but not being thought ſerious, perhaps, had no Anſwer return'd him.

Italy began now to feel all the Deſolations and Miſeries of a Civil War, *Sylla* making great Devaſtations on one ſide, and *Carbo* on the other, who getting into *Rome*, procur'd *Metellus*, and the reſt who join'd with *Sylla*, to be declar'd Enemies to the State. Both Parties diligently ſent up and down to the *Italian* Cities, labouring by all poſſible Ways and Methods to procure Forces; and thus was the reſt of the Summer ſpent, in which time the *Capital* was burnt down, none knowing by what means it was done: This happen'd about 430 Years after it was firſt built. The following Year, *Carbo* a third time, and young *Marius*, the Son of the former, were made Conſuls; the latter at 27 Years of Age. In the beginning of the Campaign, *Carbo*'s Lieutenant, *Carinus*, was overthrown by *Metellus*, and *Marius* himſelf by *Sylla*. *Marius* was driven into *Prænesse*, where being cloſely beſieg'd, and almoſt deſpairing of Relief, he in a great Rage wrote to *Brutus*, then Prætor at *Rome*, *To uſe ſome Pretence to call the Senate, and then to kill the principal of them who were his Enemies*; which Order was executed with great Cruelty: So that whatſoever ſides were Conquerors, *Rome* was ſtill a miſerable Sufferer. *Metellus* having by this time overthrown *Carbo* once more, and *Pompey* defeated *Marcius*, another of that Party, *Sylla* march'd directly to *Rome*, which Place he eaſily enter'd, great Numbers of the oppoſite Faction being fled into the Country.

The Inhabitants of *Rome* were extremely terriſy'd at *Sylla*'s Entrance; but he only put the Goods of the Perſons that fled to Sale, wiſhing the People *not to be dejected, for he was obliged to act as he did:* Then leaving a ſufficient Garriſon in the City, he departed to *Cluſium*, where he and his Officers ſeveral times overthrew

threw *Carbo*'s Armies. *Carbo*, being now upon the defenſive, ſent eight Legions to *Præneſte*, to relieve his Collegue *Marius*; but they were met by *Pompey* in a narrow Paſſage, where he ſlew many of 'em, and diſpers'd the reſt. Soon after, *Carbo* being join'd with *Norbanus*, engag'd with *Metellus*, and had 10000 of his Men ſlain, and 6000 yielded; whereupon great Numbers went over to *Sylla*'s Party, which preſently became Maſters of all *Gaul* on that ſide the *Alps*. *Norbanus* fled to *Rhodes*, where fearing to be deliver'd up, he kill'd himſelf; and *Carbo* fled to *Africk*; tho' he had 30000 Men at *Cluſium*, beſides other Forces; all which ſoon after were broken and diſpers'd by *Pompey*. But *Carinus* and *Marcius*, with other Commanders, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Samnite* Troops, endeavour'd to force the Trenches at *Præneſte*, and relieve *Marius*; but finding it impracticable, they advanc'd to *Rome*, where meeting with *Sylla*, a moſt bloody Battel was fought at the very Gates, in which many thouſands were ſlain on both Sides. But *Sylla* at laſt obtain'd the Victory, and *Carinus* and *Marcius* were taken, and their Heads ſent to *Præneſte* to be ſhewn to the Inhabitants, at which ſorrowful Sight they ſurrender'd to *Lucullus*, and *Marius* kill'd himſelf, whoſe Head was ſet up in the Pleading-place at *Rome*. All his Faction in *Præneſte*, with the Natives and *Samnites*, were put to death without Mercy; only the *Romans* eſcap'd with their Lives, and this rich City was plunder'd. *Norba* a little after was taken, and the Inhabitants ſetting the Town on Fire, all deſtroy'd themſelves, ſome one way, and ſome another: So now all *Italy* came under the Power of *Sylla*.

Sylla, having been thus ſucceſsful againſt his Enemies at home, ſent *Pompey* into *Africk* againſt *Carbo*, and gave him Charge to paſs from thence into *Sicily* againſt others of that Party. *Pompey* in a ſhort time drove *Carbo* into *Sicily*, and thence into *Corcyra*, where he took him, and caus'd his Head to be cut off, and ſent to *Sylla*. But *Rome* in the mean time now ſeverely

verily felt the dreadful Effects of Civil Conteſts; for *Sylla* calling the People together, told them, *That he wou'd put 'em into a better Condition, if they were obedient to his Commands; but as for his Enemies, he was reſolv'd to proſecute them with all ſorts of Miſeries and Calamities*; which he did with more Severity than any before him, killing and butchering many thouſands after a moſt barbarous and inhuman manner. Eight thouſand were put to Death together in the *Villa Publica*, a large Houſe in the *Campus Martius*; Men were ſlain in the Embraces of their Wives, Children in the Arms of their Mothers, and Liberty was given to the Soldiers to kill all they met, without diſtinction, till *Furfidius* a little ſtopp'd the Current of his Rage, by putting him in mind that he ought to leave ſome for *Sylla* to reign over, then publiſh'd Tables of *Proſcription* for particular Perſons, theſe being the firſt ever known in *Rome*, wherein were proſcrib'd 80 *Senators*, and 1600 *Equites*, to which he afterwards added more, promiſing great Rewards to the Diſcoverers, and threatning Death to the Concealers of them. Of theſe Out-law'd Perſons ſome were ſlain in their Houſes, others in the Streets, and others proſtrate at his Feet, begging their Lives; and thoſe that fled, their Goods were ſeiz'd on. *Marius*, Brother to *Sylla*'s great Enemy, had his Eyes firſt pull'd out, then his Hands and Legs cut off at ſeveral times, that he might die with the greater Torment. *C. Julius Cæſar*, a young Man of wonderful promiſing Abilities, who had marry'd *Cinna*'s Daughter, very hardly eſcap'd the common Miſeries of theſe Times, of whom *Sylla* was wont to ſay, after a prophetick manner, *That in* Cæſar *were many* Marius's.

Rome was not the only Sufferer in theſe dreadful Calamities; for this Proſcription was carry'd throughout all the Cities of *Italy*, where the mercileſs Effuſion of Blood was ſuch, that neither the Temples of the Gods, nor all the Sanctuaries could afford Protection to any Man. Both the Conſuls being now deſtroy'd,

Sylla

Sylla withdrew himſelf from the City, and order'd the Senate to create an *Inter-Rex*, which they moſt willingly did, naming *Valerius Flaccus*. He wrote to him to ask the People, that ſince Affairs were yet much unſettl'd, a *Dictator* might be created, and that not for any limited time, but till all publick Evils and Grievances ſhould be redreſs'd, not forgetting to mention himſelf. This the People were conſtrain'd to yield to, he having then all the Power in his own Hands; and ſo this Office, which had been intermitted for 120 Years, was conferr'd on him without any Limitation of Time. And thus ended the firſt Civil War in *Italy*, tho' not in all other Places, about ſix Years after it began, and four after the firſt *Marius*'s Death, in the 672d Year of the City, in the third Year of the 174th *Olympiad*, 427 Years ſince the Beginning of the *Conſular State*, 248 ſince the ſetting up of the *Macedonian* Empire, and 80 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. XIV.

From the Perpetual Dictatorſhip *of* Sylla, *to the firſt* Triumvirate, *namely, that of* Cæſar, Pompey, *and* Craſſus; *which prov'd the Ruin of the* Conſular State, *and the firſt Step to the ſetting up the* Imperial.

Containing the Space of 22 Years.

THE Government of *Rome* was now for ſome Space chang'd to a Monarchy, *Sylla*'s Power being unlimited as to Time; and tho' to keep up a ſhew of a Commonwealth, he permitted *Conſuls* to be made, yet he plainly reign'd alone, having 24 *Lictors* with their *Faſces* and *Axes*, and a great Guard conſtantly to attend his Perſon, as the Kings in former Times had, and repealing old Laws, and enacting new *Dic.* lxxi. Perpetual. *U. C.* 672.

new at his Pleaſure. He regulated the Conſulſhip, ordering that none ſhould be capable of it without firſt paſſing thro' other Offices. He remov'd that Plague to the Senate, the *Tribuneſhip*, by making thoſe who bore it uncapable of any other Truſt. He added 300 of the *Equites* to the Senate, and likewiſe 10000 of the Slaves of the *Proſcribed* to the People, making 'em Free, and calling 'em *Cornelii*, according to his own Name; and he aſſign'd great Quantities of Land to 23 Legions, the better to ſecure and bind 'em to his Intereſt. This was the firſt Year of *Sylla*'s Reign, in which the War broke out again with *Mithridates*, about three Years after the firſt, occaſion'd by *Murena*, whom *Sylla* had left behind him in *Aſia*. This Perſon being extraordinary ambitious of a Triumph, found an Opportunity of making a Breach with *Mithridates*, contrary to the Senate's Deſigns; but as it prov'd, he only procur'd himſelf an Overthrow, and *Mithridates* a Peace not long after, which finiſh'd the ſecond War with that Prince, having laſted above two Years.

In the ſecond Year of *Sylla*'s Office he again made Conſuls, but join'd himſelf with *Cæcilius Metellus*, he being one, which Courſe the Emperors afterwards imitated. The Year after, when the People deſign'd him Conſul again, he declin'd it, and choſe two others; and then, to the great Surprize and Wonder of all Men, he laid down his *Dictatorſhip*, in the third Year of his Office; and what was more ſurpriſing, tho' he had done ſo many cruel and wicked Acts, he, like a Man perfectly juſt and innocent, freely offer'd to give an Account of all his Management and Proceedings. Yet we find none accus'd him but one young Man, whoſe ſcurrilous Language to him made him ſay, *That ſuch courſe Uſage for the future wou'd keep any Man from laying down an Office of ſuch Supreme Authority*, which *Julius Cæſar* afterwards ſeem'd to have been aware of. Not long after he retir'd himſelf into the Country, where following nothing but his Pleaſure, he

he dy'd in a ſhort time at *Puteoli*, his Body being putrefy'd, and all turn'd into Lice. This was the End of *Cornelius Sylla*; and as his Life was very pernicious to his Country, ſo was his Death extremely troubleſome to it, the two Conſuls and their Factions falling out about the Honours deſign'd for him at his Funeral. *Catullus* prevailing againſt his Collegue *Lepidus*, his Body was carry'd in great Pomp and State through the City, and was the firſt in *Rome* that was burnt, to prevent being treated as *Marius* before had been, whoſe Bones *Sylla* himſelf had order'd to be digg'd up and thrown away.

After this, the Conſuls fell into greater Diſſentions about the Lands given away by *Sylla*, which *Lepidus* was for returning to the former Poſſeſſors. The Senate being very fearful of another War, made 'em both ſwear, *Not to decide the Controverſy by the Sword.* But *Lepidus* reſolv'd not to return out of his Province, till the new Election of Conſuls was over, and then to begin a War, thinking himſelf diſcharg'd from his Oath when he was out of his Office. Hereupon the Senate ſent for him, and at his return, he offer'd to bring his Troops into the City; but being oppos'd by *Catullus* and *Pompey*, a Battel enſu'd, wherein he was overthrown, and fleeing to *Sardinia*, he dy'd the ſame Year with *Sylla*. This was not the end of all theſe Troubles, for a more dangerous War was ſtill depending in *Spain* againſt *Q. Sertorius*, an admirable expert Commander of *Cinna*'s Faction, who had driven out all *Sylla*'s Party from *Spain*, and had choſen 300 of his Friends, whom he call'd a Senate, in Oppoſition to that of *Rome*. *Sertorius* having join'd with the *Celtiberians*, had before been ſucceſsful againſt *Metellus*, and now being reinforc'd with part of *Lepidus*'s Army, brought over by *Perpenna*, he deſign'd no leſs than the Invaſion of *Italy*. The Senate, apprehenſive of his threatning Danger, ſent *Pompey* againſt him, who for his great Exploits in *Africk* and

Sicily

Sicily had already triumph'd, tho' ſcarce 26 Years of Age, and neither *Conſul* nor *Prætor*. *Pompey*, in imitation of *Hannibal*, paſs'd the *Alps*, tho' a contrary way, but with no Succeſs againſt *Sertorius* either then or in the next Spring: And tho' *Perpenna* and *Herculeus* were ſeveral times worſted by *Metellus*, yet *Sertorius*, by his extraordinary Management, reduc'd *Pompey* to great Extremities, inſomuch that he was oblig'd to ſend to *Rome* for Supplies; which after he had receiv'd, he attack'd ſeveral Places ſubject to *Sertorius*, yet perform'd nothing of Conſequence this Year.

The following Year, *Pompey* and *Metellus* being much ſtrengthen'd, made Incurſions into ſeveral Parts, and with more Succeſs than formerly; yet no conſiderable Battel was fought. And indeed there needed none, ſince *Sertorius* fell away inſenſibly, by diſobliging his chief Soldiers in preferring the *Celtiberians* for his Guard; but more eſpecially by his degenerating into a lazy and debauch'd, as well as cruel Temper, putting many to death with little Reaſon or Juſtice. And now *Perpenna* fearing it might fall to his Lot to be deſtroy'd among the reſt, reſolv'd to prevent it, and thereupon inviting him to a ſumptuous Feaſt, firſt made him and his Companions very drunk, and then murder'd him; which was a very inglorious End for ſo great a Soldier, who had ſtoutly and bravely reſiſted all that had been ſent againſt him, and had been admired by the *Spaniards* as another *Hannibal*. *Perpenna* with much difficulty obtain'd his Command from his Army, but not long after was overthrown in Battel, and taken Priſoner by *Pompey*. He offer'd to diſcloſe to *Pompey* in private ſome Matters of the higheſt Conſequence, if he would ſpare his Life; but *Pompey* with great Policy and Diſcretion, commanded him to be executed immediately, and all his Papers to be burnt, leſt his Accuſations ſhould bring the State into further Troubles, of which it had felt too ſeverely already. Thus ended all the

Civil

Civil Wars, in the 680th Year of the City, 15 Years after they firſt began, and 9 after it ended in *Italy*, in the Conſulſhip of *Terentius Varro* and *Caſſius Varus*, the former being a Perſon of wonderful Knowledge, and one of the moſt learned Men that ever *Rome* produc'd, in whoſe Time Learning was in many reſpects at the higheſt Pitch in the State.

II. But the Year before, a third War broke out with *Mithridates*, who now had join'd himſelf with *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, and gather'd together an Army of divers Countries, conſiſting of 140000 Foot, and 16000 Horſe, by which he in a ſhort time poſſeſs'd himſelf of all *Bithynia*, which *Nicomedes* the late King had given by his Will to the *Romans*. *Lucinius Lucullus* and *Aurelius Cotta* being Conſuls, the former, a brave General, was ſent againſt *Mithridates*. He found the King before *Cyzicus*, a City of *Propontis*, where he plac'd his Men with ſo much Skill, as to beſiege the Beſieger, and reduc'd *Mithridates* to ſuch Extremities, that thro' Famine he was forc'd firſt to ſend away his Cavalry and ſick Men into *Bithynia*, whereof 15000 were intercepted, and then to retire himſelf with the reſt that could eſcape the great Slaughter which the *Romans* made in the Flight. During the Time of this double Siege, *Eumachus*, one of *Mithridates*'s Commanders, made Inroads into *Phrygia*, ſubdu'd *Piſidia* and *Iſauria*, and endeavour'd to do the like to *Cilicia*, till he was repuls'd by *Deiotarus*, one of the Governors of *Galatia*. But *Lucullus* improv'd his Succeſs by Land by gaining many Victories at Sea, where he took ſeveral of *Mithridates*'s Commanders, and cloſely purſu'd the King himſelf. *Mithridates* flying with more Speed than Diſcretion, had been caſt away, but that he was receiv'd into a *Pirate*'s Veſſel, to which he was glad to commit himſelf in ſo great a Danger, and at length, after many Difficulties, got into his own Kingdom, whither *Lucullus* purſu'd him, *U. C.* 680.

him, having taken in all *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia* in his way; and this was his firſt Year's Expedition.

Mithridates made all poſſible Preparations for Reſiſtance, ſending to *Tigranes* and others for Aid; and within the Space of a Year he got together 40000 Foot and 4000 Horſe, with which he once or twice gain'd ſome Advantage over the *Romans*, and ſtruck ſome Terror into the Soldiers. But *Lucullus* found means to cut off moſt of his Cavalry, which, with the loſs of a Battel ſoon after, ſo terrify'd him, that he quitted his Kingdom, and fled into *Armenia* to *Tigranes*, who entertain'd him like a King, but refus'd to admit him to his Preſence. All *Pontus*, except a few Places, yielded to *Lucullus* in a ſhort ſpace; and *Machares*, King of *Boſphorus*, ſent this General a Crown of Gold, by which he purchas'd the Title of his Friend and Ally. This was the fourth Year of his Expedition, in which Year alſo was happily finiſh'd the War with *Spartacus* the Gladiator in *Italy*. This Perſon, with ſeventy four of his Companions, having broken out of their Fencing-School at *Capua*, fled away; and wandring through all the Country round, and vaſtly increaſing in their Numbers, commenc'd a dangerous War in *Italy*. They at leaſt had gather'd together an Army of about 70000 Men, moſt Vagabonds and ſuch kind of People, and all Pretenders to *Liberty*, and had beſides overthrown many of the *Roman* Commanders, and two of their Conſuls; till at laſt they were conquer'd and diſpers'd by *Licinius Craſſus* the Proconſul in *Apulia*, a Perſon of great Nobility and Riches, and after many Troubles and Calamities in *Italy*, the War was ended in the third Year by him. About the ſame time a *Luſtrum* being perform'd in *Rome*, 450000 Free Citizens were poll'd, the City ſtill increaſing in Bulk and People, and the Inhabitants in Learning and Politeneſs, as well as Corruption and Factions.

U. C. 684. *Lucullus* having ſtill the Management of the War againſt *Mithridates*, follow'd him into *Armenia*, ſending

ing to *Tigranes* King of that Country, to demand him. *Tigranes* was a very powerful Monarch, having lately conquer'd several Nations and Kings; which made him so intolerably proud; that when he rode abroad, he would have four of his subdu'd Kings run by his side like Lacqueys, and when he sat on his Throne, to stand before him with folded Hands in token of Subjection. *Tigranes* being now abroad in reducing *Phœnicia*, *Lucullus*'s Messenger found Opportunity to draw over many to his side; who had been much dissatisfy'd at his proud and insulting Carriage. *Tigranes* at his return refus'd to deliver up *Mithridates*, and likewise to acknowledge *Lucullus* as a General, because he had not given him the Title of *King of Kings*. Whereupon *Lucullus* suddenly pass'd the River *Euphrates* with two Legions, and about 3000 Horse, which did not a little surprize *Tigranes*, who first hang'd the Messenger of the News as a Disturber of the Peace; and soon after sent *Mithrobarzanes* with 2000 Horse to incommode his Passage, leaving *Mancæus* to cover the City *Tigranocerta*, which he had lately built, and went himself to levy Forces. While he was drawing together a vast Army of 250000 Foot, and 50000 Horse against the *Romans*, *Mithrobarzanes* was repell'd; and *Mancæus* driven from the Cover of the City, and the Place immediately invested. *Mithridates* upon this, advis'd him not to hazard all in a Battel, but rather to starve the *Romans*; but he slighted his Motion, and contemn'd the Smalness of their Numbers, saying, *That if the* Romans *were all Ambassadors, they were a great many; but if Soldiers, very few;* pretending to over-run 'em with great Facility. But *Lucullus* posting himself upon a Hill, sent his Cavalry to provoke and draw out the Enemy, so as he might break their Ranks, and then setting upon the Carriage-Beasts, so successfully caus'd 'em to drive their Foot among their Horse, that great Confusion follow'd, and a dreadful Slaughter continu'd all the

day; and *Tigranocerta* was ſurrender'd by means of certain diſſatisfy'd *Greeks* in the Place.

After theſe Defeats, another great Army was rais'd, and committed to the Conduct of *Mithridates*: They both endeavour'd to hem in *Lucullus*, but were diſappointed in their Deſign by his extraordinary Vigilancy; and thus both ſides continu'd with little Action, till want of Proviſions conſtrain'd 'em to remove, *Tigranes* marching farther into his Kingdom, and *Mithridates* into his, with *Lucullus* not far behind him. *Fabius*, who had been left in *Pontus* by *Lucullus*, was overthrown by *Mithridates*, and after him *Triarius*, who imprudently engag'd with him, and loſt 7000 of his Men. Soon after *Mithridates* taking with him all the Neceſſaries he cou'd carry, and deſtroying the reſt, march'd into the leſſer *Armenia*. *Lucullus* wou'd gladly have follow'd him, and might have put an end to the War, but that now *Acilius Glabrio*, this Year's Conſul, by *Glabrius* the *Tribune*'s Procurement, was appointed to carry it on in his Place. This being known in the Army, *Lucullus* was ſlighted by his Men, and *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* began to be more ſucceſsful than formerly. In a ſhort time, *Glabrio* arriv'd at his Province, and ſent about to give notice, *That the Senate being diſpleas'd with* Lucullus *for prolonging the War, had disbanded his Army, and would confiſcate the Eſtates of ſuch as ſhou'd diſobey its Order.* Upon which all his Army abandon'd him except ſome few poor Men, who had no great Cauſe to fear any Loſs of Eſtates; and *Lucullus* being out of his Command, *Mithridates* recover'd almoſt all his Kingdom, and did much Damage to *Cappadocia*, *Glabrio* not ſo much as coming to his Army, but lying idle in *Bithynia*. This happen'd in the ſeventh Year after *Lucullus* had undertaken the War.

U. C. 654. III. About this time, *Pompey* began to come into great Eſteem among the *Romans*, having now a new Occaſion

Occaſion of ſhewing his great Abilities in War, which was this: The Pirates, who had been firſt employ'd by *Mithridates*, finding their Profit ſo great, had now got together many Thouſands of ſeveral Nations, making choice of *Cilicia* for their Rendezvous; and ſeeing that the War continu'd, they thought it more Wiſdom to damnify others, than loſe their own Eſtates. They were now grown ſo numerous and powerful, that there was no ſecure paſſing the Seas, nor dwelling upon the Coaſts; for they not only took and robb'd Ships by Sea, but alſo whole Provinces on the Land. They had likewiſe defeated ſeveral *Roman Prætors*, and were grown ſo impudent, that they landed in *Italy* it ſelf, carry'd away ſeveral Women of Quality, and more than that, two Armies with their Enſigns. Theſe great Affronts very much enrag'd the People of *Rome*, and a Law was preferr'd by *Gabinius* the *Tribune*, *That ſome Perſon ſhould be created Admiral, with full Power againſt the Pirates for three Years, who ſhou'd have large Forces, and many Lieutenants.* This Law did not pleaſe the Senate, who now began to grow jealous of *Pompey*'s Power; for to him was the Affair committed, and he had full Power given him over all Perſons upon the Sea, and fifty Miles diſtant, whether Kings or others, to oblige them to aſſiſt him in his Enterprize. The Senate alſo permitted him to chuſe fifteen Lieutenants out of their Body, to take 200 Ships, and raiſe what Men he cou'd: But he obtain'd greater Advantage of the People, namely 500 Ships, 120000 Foot, and 5000 Horſe, 6000 *Attick* Talents, and the Power of appointing 25 *Vicegerents* out of the Senate, and two *Quæſtors*; ſo difficult it appear'd to deſtroy ſuch numerous Fleets as the *Pirates* had, in a Sea that had ſo many Places of Retreat and Refuge.

Pompey with great Skill and Judgment diſtributed his Lieutenants through the ſeveral Bays, Havens, Streights and Windings of the *Mediterranean* Sea, furniſhing

niſhing them with convenient Shipping and Forces; that ſo the Pirates being rouz'd out of their lurking Holes by ſome, might be receiv'd by others, and chas'd by the next, and none might be oblig'd to ſail too far; while he himſelf, like a King of ſo many Kings, ſail'd up and down, obſerving, viſiting, directing, inſtructing, and overſeeing with that ſingular Art and Diligence, that in forty Days he ſcour'd all the Seas about *Africk*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, and *Sicily*; and all the Pirates that eſcap'd, flock'd to *Cilicia* as their common Receptacle. He ſoon follow'd 'em with 60 Galleys; and tho' they had prepar'd themſelves to give him Battel, yet upon the ſight of his Fleet, they ſubmitted to his Mercy; and ſo much had the Greatneſs of his Name terrify'd them, that in forty Days more he reduc'd *Cilicia* to the *Roman* Obedience. Such of theſe Pirates as remain'd, being above 20000, he was unwilling to kill, and to let 'em return to their old Habitations was not ſafe: Therefore he remov'd 'em to Places farther diſtant from the Sea, where he gave 'em Lands and Houſes, furniſhing their Seats with new Inhabitants. Thus, after the taking of nigh 400 Ships, and 120 Forts, and the killing of 10000 Men, he finiſh'd the War in three or four Months, uſing the Conquer'd with more Clemency than *Q. Metellus* did thoſe in *Crete*, which he ſubdu'd, and thereby obtain'd, beſides a Triumph, the Surname of *Creticus*.

This Expedition ſtill added much to *Pompey*'s Reputation; and it was ſcarce at an end, when *Manilius* the *Tribune* preferr'd a Law, *That all the Armies the* Romans *had in any place, together with the Government of all* Aſia, *and the Management of the War againſt* Mithridates *and* Tigranes, *might be committed to him alone.* This he did to curry favour with ſo great a Man as *Pompey*, whom he had diſpleas'd not long before, by a Law of his, which gave equal Privileges to freed Slaves with their Maſters that made 'em ſo. The

Nobility

Nobility were extremely diſſatisfy'd at this new Law, not only for the manifeſt Injury done to *Lucullus* and *Glabrio*, by removing them from their Places, but alſo out of a high Jealouſy of *Pompey*'s growing Greatneſs, as being in a manner abſolute Monarch of the *Roman* Empire, by having theſe Provinces added to his former, with the ſame Power of Peace and War; and which was more than all the reſt, a Juriſdiction over all Armies whatſoever; which things had never before been conferr'd upon any one ſingle Perſon.

But the Commons were very hot for the Law, being much incited by *Cicero*, the renown'd Orator, now *Prætor*, who in a publick Aſſembly made a noble Oration in Commendation of *Pompey*, *ſhewing not only how very convenient it was for the Good of the Commonwealth to have a General with ſo large a Power; but likewiſe how abſolutely neceſſary it was to chuſe him above all other Men in the World, as being incomparably eminent for thoſe four great Accompliſhments requir'd in an abſolute Soldier, Conduct, Courage, Authority and Succeſs, which had all been abundantly apparent in thoſe numerous and wonderful Exploits he had already perform'd in ſo many Parts of the World.* This had ſo good an Effect, that when the Law came to the Scrutiny, it paſs'd with little Oppoſition; and *C. Julius Cæſar*, lately *Quæſtor*, is ſaid to have likewiſe favour'd it, chiefly with Deſign, that afterwards the People might be the more inclin'd to commit the like extraordinary Power to himſelf. *U. C.* 688

Pompey having made what Preparations he thought convenient, in a ſhort time undertook his Expedition, in which he propos'd great Honour and Renown to himſelf. Yet he firſt ſent to *Mithridates*, offering him good and reaſonable Terms, which the other refus'd in expectation of the Aſſiſtance of *Phraates* King of *Parthia*; but hearing that a League was made between him and the *Romans*, he ſhortly after ſent to deſire a Peace. *Pompey* commanded him to lay down his Arms, and deliver up all Deſerters; which occaſioned

ned ſuch a dangerous Diſturbance and Mutiny in *Mithridates*'s Army, that he immediately receded, ſaying, *He only ſent to make an Eſpial*, and evading the Articles by ſwearing, *That he wou'd never be reconcil'd to the* Romans, *becauſe of their inſatiable Avarice*. *Pompey* marching into *Galatia*, there met with *Lucullus*, and a violent Conteſt was rais'd between 'em. The latter affirm'd the War to be already finiſh'd, and that the Commiſſioners from *Rome* were to decide it; and when *Pompey* wou'd not hearken to this, he upbraided him with an unjuſt Ambition, *Pompey* retorting the Charge of immoderate Deſire of Gain upon *Lucullus*. *Lucullus* ſtill gave out Commands in his own Name; but *Pompey*, by his Edicts, forbad 'em, null'd all his Acts, and at laſt drew away the greater Part of his Army. Yet *Lucullus* at his Return was receiv'd with great Honour by the Senate, carrying with him among his great Booty many valuable Books, with which he furniſh'd a Library that always ſtood open, to *Greeks* eſpecially. He much advanc'd the *Roman* Luxury as to Buildings, Furniture of Houſes, and exceſſive Feaſts, and alſo was the firſt that brought the Cherry-Tree out of *Pontus* into *Italy*.

Mithridates had now gather'd together a very conſiderable and numerous Army; and *Pompey* finding how he had waſted all the Country to hinder the Subſiſtence of his Army, march'd into the leſſer *Armenia*, ſubject to *Mithridates*, who fearing he might become Maſter of that Country, follow'd him thither. Here *Mithridates* was in hopes to ſtarve him, but was diſappointed with conſiderable Loſs, and to his great Surprize was ſurrounded by *Pompey* with an Intrenchment of above eighteen Miles in Circuit. Whereupon hearing that *Marcius* was join'd *Pompey*, he betook himſelf to flight, having firſt kill'd all ſuch as were ſick and uſeleſs about him. But *Pompey* purſu'd him ſo cloſe, that before he could paſs the River *Euphrates*, he forc'd him to an Engagement in the Night.

The

The Moon being very low, and on the Backs of the *Romans*, ſo lengthen'd their Shadows, that the Enemies thinking 'em nigher than really they were, ſhot moſt of their Arrows without doing Execution. Here *Mithridates* loſt many Thouſands of Men; but he himſelf broke through with 800 Horſe, of which only 300 ſtay'd with him. Then ſorrowfully wandring through the Woods with his Horſe in his Hand, he accidentally met with ſome Mercenaries, and about 3000 Foot, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he was convey'd into a Caſtle where he had laid up much Treaſure. From hence he ſent to *Tigranes*, who now refus'd to receive him, alledging that his Son upon his Account had rebelled againſt him. Whereupon *Mithridates* fled to *Colchis*, which he had formerly conquer'd, and *Pompey* follow'd him, thinking he wou'd not have ſtirr'd thence; but he immediately paſs'd into *Scythia*, where, partly by Force, and partly by Perſuaſions, he oblig'd the Princes of that Country to be of his Party, beſtowing his Daughters in Marriage upon ſome of 'em, having ſtill vaſt Deſigns in his Mind, even of paſſing through *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Pannonia*, and ſo over the *Alps* into *Italy* it ſelf.

Pompey in a ſhort time left *Colchis*, and getting clear of the Ambuſcades laid for him by the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, directed his March to *Armenia* againſt *Tigranes*, who now reſolv'd not to fight, upon the Account of the Rebellion of his three Sons he had by *Mithridates*'s Daughter, two of which he had executed, and the third after an Overthrow had fled to *Pompey*. *Tigranes*'s Ambaſſadors coming to deſire a Peace, this Son ſo far prevail'd, that they could not be heard. Shortly after *Pompey* inveſted the City *Artaxata*, which *Tigranes* immediately ſurrender'd, and ſhortly after came himſelf into *Pompey*'s Camp, making him Mediator between him and his Son, who wou'd not ſo much as ariſe up to his Father, or ſhew him any Reſpect whatſoever. But *Pompey* receiv'd

him with extraordinary Civility, allowing him the greateſt part of his former Dominions, and his Son the reſt; but took away all his Conqueſts, and fin'd him 6000 Talents of Silver for the Charge of the War. *Tigranes* was by theſe Articles oblig'd to quit many conquer'd Territories, particularly all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and *Euphrates* to the Sea; but his Son was ſtill very refractory, refuſing Obedience, and threatning the Death of his Father, for which he was ſhut up in Priſon by *Pompey*, and reſerv'd for a Triumph; and not long afterwards he was put to Death. *Tigranes* being now reconcil'd to the *Romans*, paid more than his Fine, and made Preſents to every Officer and Soldier, for which he was eſteem'd a Friend and Ally of the *Romans*. *Pompey* reſtor'd *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, giving him alſo *Gordiena* and *Sophena*, with *Cabala* a City of *Cilicia*, and other Places; after which with ſome Oppoſition he conſtrain'd the *Albanians* and *Iberians* to beg Peace.

U. C. 689. Thus proſperous was this great Commander, who ſtill deſign'd larger and more glorious Conqueſts, and therefore paſſing over the vaſt Mount *Taurus*, he march'd againſt *Darius* the *Median*, and *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, for moleſting the *Roman* Allies, or aſſiſting their Enemies. Whereupon *Phraates* King of *Parthia*, who had been call'd into *Gordiena* by *Tigranes*'s Son, terrify'd at his great Exploits, ſent to beg Peace of him, which he granted not, but ſent *Afraneus* into *Gordiena* to expel his Forces, and reſtore that Country to *Tigranes*. *Phraates* upon this invading *Armenea*, *Tigranes* ſent to *Pompey* for Succour, who being unwilling to commence a War with *Phraates* without poſitive Orders from *Rome*, ſent three Commiſſioners to make an Accommodation. But for *Antiochus*, to whom *Lucullus* had granted *Syria* for his Inheritance, he firſt intended to betake himſelf to the Aſſiſtance of *Phraates*; but upon mature Deliberation, he reſolved to yield himſelf to *Pompey*'s Generoſity. But *Pompey* having

now

now poſſeſs'd himſelf of all his Country without Reſiſtance, refus'd to grant him what he expected, and what he knew he was unable to keep from the Incurſions of the *Jews* and *Arabians* on both ſides of him. And the better to excuſe himſelf, told him, *That ſince the* Romans *had been at ſuch Charges and Pains to conquer* Tigranes, *it wou'd be unreaſonable that the Reward ſhou'd fall to another.* Therefore he only allow'd him that Part of *Syria* call'd *Comagena*; and in a ſhort time after, extending his Conqueſts farther over the *Ituræans* and *Arabians*, he reduc'd all *Syria* into a *Roman* Province.

The time that *Pompey* was proceeding in theſe ſucceſsful Expeditions, *Mithridates* ſent to him to deſire Peace; but being order'd to come to him himſelf, he refus'd it, and proceeded in his Preparations for War: After which many of his Places revolted, and many of his Friends, with one of his Sons, were executed upon that account. Yet ſtill he deſign'd to paſs into *Europe*, there to join with the *Gauls*, and invade *Italy*; but the Unwillingneſs of his Soldiers to this difficult Expedition, and the rebellious Deſigns of his Son *Pharnaces*, caus'd his Army's Revolt and his Ruin, his Son being ſhortly after ſaluted King. *Mithridates*, now under Confinement, ſeeing this from an upper Room, ſent to his Son to ask Leave to depart, but in vain, who bidding his Father *die*, he cry'd out with many bitter Imprecations, *That he might one Day hear the ſame Words from his own Children!* Then coming down to his Wives, Daughters, and Concubines, he gave 'em all Poiſon, and fearing to be delivered up to the *Romans*, he took ſome himſelf; but having much us'd his Body to Antidotes, particularly to that ſort which ſtill goes by his Name, the Poiſon wou'd not operate, whereupon he wounded himſelf; but that not diſpatching him ſoon enough, he call'd to one *Bitæus* a *Gaul*, who got in through the broken Wall, and by his Hands he dy'd. Thus

fell

fell *Mithridates*, a Man who, ſometimes in Fortune, and at all times in Courage, was of the higheſt Rank; in Direction a skilful Commander, in Execution a great Soldier, and in Hatred to the *Romans* a ſecond *Hannibal*, having made longer Oppoſition than he. And thus ended the *Mithridatick* War after twenty five Years, and eleven ſince it laſt broke out; a War, which in the beginning happen'd to be dangerous to the *Roman* State, as creating other Miſchiefs, but in the end prov'd very glorious and advantageous to it, by the addition not only of all *Mithridates*'s Dominions, but likewiſe of many other rich Countries in *Aſia*.

Pompey, when the News of *Mithridates*'s Death was brought to him, was near *Jericho*, marching towards *Jeruſalem* againſt *Ariſtobulus* King of *Judæa*, who had depos'd his elder Brother *Hyrcanus*, and uſurp'd his Kingdom. *Hyrcanus* complain'd of his Brother to *Pompey* at *Damaſcus*, who likewiſe came thither to vindicate himſelf. *Pompey* treated 'em both very civilly, promiſing 'em *to come into their Country, and ſettle Matters between 'em, after he had diſpatch'd ſome other neceſſary Affairs*. Having therefore in a ſhort time ſettled the Affair of *Syria*, and reduc'd *Pontus* into a *Roman* Province, he return'd to *Judea*, being much incens'd againſt *Ariſtobulus*. He firſt cited him to appear before him, and deliver up all his fortify'd Places, which he did with much Regret and Anger, withdrawing himſelf to *Jeruſalem*, to make Preparations for a War. *Pompey* ſuſpecting his Deſigns, immediately march'd after him, which *Ariſtobulus* underſtanding, went out to meet him; and tho' the City was enter'd without Oppoſition, his Soldiers fortify'd the Temple, and held it out againſt *Pompey*, which caus'd *Ariſtobulus* to be taken into Cuſtody. The Temple being very ſtrong by Situation, made a vigorous Defence; but after three Months Siege, was with much Difficulty and Labour taken, and 12000 of the *Jews* cut in pieces, the

Prieſts

Prieſts not neglecting to offer Sacrifices all that time. *Pompey*, without any Fear, enter'd the *Holy of Holies* with many Followers, looking on thoſe Things which were unlawful for any but the Prieſts to behold; however he ſhew'd ſo much Veneration for the Place, that he forbore touching any thing that was there. He reſtor'd *Hyrcanus* to his Prieſthood and Government, but with a Command never to wear a Diadem, and took *Ariſtobulus* with him, making all *Judæa* tributary to *Rome*. This happen'd in the third Year of his Expedition, and 61 Years before our Saviour's Nativity.

IV. While *Pompey* thus proceeded in his noble Exploits abroad, *Rome* it ſelf was in great Hazard, and very nigh its Ruin, occaſion'd by one of the moſt dangerous Conſpiracies that had been ever known in the City. It was begun and carry'd on by *Sergius Catiline*, a *Patritian* by Deſcent, but of a very profligate Life; a Perſon daring in his Attempts, crafty in his Deſigns, greedy of other Men's Properties, prodigal of his own; one who had been accus'd of debauching a *Veſtal* Virgin, and ſuſpected of murdering his Son for the Love of another Woman. This Perſon having contracted vaſt Debts by the Looſeneſs of his Life, grew deſperate, and ſought for nothing but Power and Authority, and, if it were poſſible, the Sovereignty over all; but his Deſigns being ſuſpected, he twice receiv'd a Repulſe in ſtanding for the Conſulſhip. This laſt time it was carry'd from him by *Cicero*, whom he therefore ſcurrilouſly abus'd as an Upſtart and Foreigner, as being but of the *Equeſtrian* Order, and born in *Apulia*, and offer'd to kill him in the *Comitia*. The miſſing of his Deſigns drove him into the utmoſt Rage and Fury, and brought him into that Plot, in which he had formerly been engag'd with *Piſo*, for the Deſtruction of his Country. *Aurelius Cotta* and *Manlius Torquatus*, who before had miſs'd of the *Conſulſhip* for want of competent Bribes, alſo

join'd

join'd with him, and afresh plotted the Ruin of the *Consuls* and *Senate*, the Burning of the City, and Overthrow of the State; as likewise did *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and many other inferior Persons of debauch'd and infamous Lives. *Cethegus* and *Lentulus* were both *Prætors*; and the latter, who formerly had been *Consul*, was mov'd to this Design by a vain Confidence he had in the *Sibylline* Oracles, which he said portended, *That the Sovereign Power shou'd be in the Hands of the* Cornelii, *namely*, Sylla, Cinna, *and himself.*

This Conspiracy was carry'd on with the greatest Secresy imaginable, their Numbers daily increasing, among which were several Women, who by prostituting themselves had been maintain'd after a prodigious rate; but afterwards Decay of Beauty limiting their Gains, tho' not their Luxury, had greatly run them in Debt. Notwithstanding all their Care of concealing this horrid Design, it was discover'd by the means of *Q. Curius*, one of the Plotters, a degraded *Senator*, who neither cou'd contain the Secrets he had heard, nor the Crimes he had committed; but imprudently relating all to one *Fulvia* his Courtesan, she discover'd it to *Cicero*, who was now Consul. *Cicero*, by examining of these two, found out the whole Matter, how often, and where they met, and what Designs they had in hand, particularly his own Destruction to be brought about by *Vasgunteius* a *Senator*, and *Cornelius* a *Knight*, under Pretence of a friendly Visit. *Cicero*, with great Diligence and Care, appointed Guards in several Parts of the City, and immediately after call'd the Senate to the Temple of *Concord*, to consult what was best to be done in this time of Danger. Great Rewards were promis'd to any who shou'd make any farther Discovery of this black Conspiracy, and the whole City was in a great Consternation, all in a Hurry, all in a Fear, not knowing whom to trust, or where to be secure, either in War or Peace; but every one measuring his Danger by his Fears.

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The Senate being now aſſembled, *Catiline*, to ſhew how well he cou'd diſſemble, or to juſtifie himſelf, went boldly thither; but none of the Senators wou'd come near him, the Place where he ſat being wholly void. Whereupon *Cicero*, either dreading his Preſence, or incens'd at his Boldneſs, ſtood up, and made a ſevere invective Speech againſt him, openly manifeſting his Crimes, which were both numerous and notorious, and ſaying, *Did that moſt honourable Perſon* Scipio Naſica *ſlay his own Kinſman* Tib. Gracchus *for a ſlight Diſturbance of the City; and ſhall we, Conſuls, tamely ſuffer a Perſon endeavouring to lay the World deſolate with Slaughter and Deſtruction?* He farther commanded him to leave the Town, concluding with wiſhing Confuſion and Deſtruction to him and all his Accomplices. Upon his ſitting down, *Catiline*, well prepared with all manner of Artifice and Diſſimulation, with a dejected Countenance, and ſuppliant Tone, beſought the Fathers *not over-raſhly to credit vain Reports concerning him; nor to believe that a Perſon of his Rank, whoſe own and whoſe Anceſtors Services had been ſo remarkably beneficial, ſtood in need of a ruin'd Common-wealth*; concluding with many ſcurrilous Reflections upon *Cicero*; which not being hearkened to by the Senate, he left the Houſe in a great Rage, breathing out Ruin and Deſtruction to all his Enemies. He left the City late at Night with 300 arm'd Men, and *Lictors* with *Axes* and *Faſces* before him like a Magiſtrate, and retir'd into *Hetruria*, gathering together Soldiers all the way, intending to return to the City, which he had order'd *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* to lay in Aſhes at an appointed time.

In the mean time the Ambaſſadors of the *Allobroges*, now in Town, were alſo perſuaded to ſtir up the *Gauls* againſt the Commonwealth; but declaring their Deſigns to *Fabius Sanga* their Patron, it came ſhortly to *Cicero*'s Ear, and ſo was prevented. The Day after *Catiline*'s departure, *Cicero* ſummon'd the People, and made

made a ſecond Oration to 'em, where he congratulated the People and Commonwealth for being freed from ſo infamous a Perſon; and encourag'd 'em, by repreſenting the Forces of that Rebel as both ſmall and inconſiderable. Upon this the Senate judged *Catiline* an Enemy to the State, and likewiſe *Manlius* who had join'd him in *Hetruria*; *Lentulus* alſo was depriv'd of his Office of *Prætor*, by whom the Ambaſſadors had been perſuaded over, who confeſs'd that they had often heard him make his Conjectures from the *Sibylline* Oracles. *Cicero* ſhortly after ſummon'd the People again, and made another Oration to 'em, wherein he reported the Particulars of the Diſcovery, with the Arraignment and Conviction of many of the Conſpirators, *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Caſſius*, and ſeveral others being now ſecur'd, *Cicero* call'd the Senate, and propounded to the Fathers to conſider what was to be done with the Priſoners: But while the Senate was ſitting, great Diſturbances aroſe in the City; for the Slaves and Dependents of *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* had gather'd together a great Number of Artificers and Rabble, who endeavour'd to break in upon the back-ſide of the *Prætor*'s Houſe, and reſcue the Priſoners. Upon notice of this, *Cicero* left the Senate-houſe, and appointing a Watch and ſufficient Guards, return'd, asking the Opinions of the Senators.

Now a great Debate aroſe concerning the Puniſhment of the Priſoners: *Silanus*, deſign'd Conſul for the next Year, being firſt ask'd his Opinion, according to Cuſtom, was for putting 'em to Death, as were ſeveral others, till *Nero* diſſuaded it, and *Julius Cæſar* ſtanding up, in a plauſible Speech pleaded much for Mercy, and diſapprov'd of Death as an irregular Way of proceeding, ſpeaking to this effect: *If any Puniſhment might be found to equalize their Faults, then I ſhou'd approve your Deſign; but if the vaſtneſs of their Crimes ſurpaſſes all our Inventions, we ought to make uſe of ſuch as the Law provides: Tho' I muſt confeſs that all the Tortures in*

the

the World are inferior to their Offences; yet moſt Men ſtill remember what comes laſt, and in the Sufferings of the moſt Impious, forget the Fact, and diſcourſe of nothing but the Puniſhment, if more ſevere than ordinary: And ſince the Porcian *Law only puniſhes Capital Offenders with Exile, we ought not to bring in Innovations; for certainly their Wiſdom and Virtue was greater, who rais'd ſo vaſt an Empire from ſuch ſmall Beginnings, than ours who can hardly preſerve what they ſo bravely won.* Cæſar's Advice was likely enough to have taken, till *Porcius Cato,* Grandſon to the great Moraliſt, ſtood up, and with ſome Heat oppos'd him, ſaying, *That he had never pardon'd in himſelf the leaſt Error of his own Thoughts, and therefore cou'd not eaſily forgive the Miſdemeanors of a turbulent Paſſion and Ambition in others. That among the ancient* Romans, Manlius Torquatus *had caus'd his own Son to be put to death only for fighting the Enemy contrary to his Command: And if that valiant Youth was ſo ſeverely chaſtis'd for his over-haſty Courage, ſhall the preſent Generation heſitate what to decree againſt the moſt bloody of Parricides, and the greater Monſters of Mankind?*

Cicero after theſe Speeches made one himſelf, which was his fourth upon this Occaſion, wherein he with a cunning ſort of Mildneſs and Ambiguity inclin'd to *Cato's* ſide, telling them, *That his Earneſtneſs did not proceed from any Malice or Anger, but from a ſingular Tenderneſs and Compaſſion: That they ought to conſider, that it was not* T. Gracchus, *who requir'd a ſecond Tribuneſhip, nor* C. Gracchus, *who claim'd the Publick Lands, nor yet* Saturninus, *who ſlew* Memmius, *that was to be call'd in queſtion; but Burners of the City, Murderers of the People, and Aſſiſtants of* Catiline *himſelf: And likewiſe that this Miſchief was already diffus'd over all* Italy, *and beyond the* Alps, *and therefore impoſſible to be cruſh'd with Forbearance and Delays.* By *Cicero's* Speech the Senate was induc'd to put 'em all to Death, which the Conſul ſaw executed before the Houſe aroſe; but *Cæſar's* Mildneſs and peculiar Management in this

this Affair, made several suspect he himself had some hand in the Conspiracy. As for *Catiline* himself, he was shortly after overtaken by *C. Antonius*, *Cicero*'s Collegue, nigh the *Alps*, as he was passing into *Gaul* to compleat his Levies; where engaging most obstinately, he was slain; but his Men desperately fought it out to the last, and scarce any of 'em remain'd to be taken, or were found out of their Places when dead. Thus was this most dangerous Conspiracy quash'd, chiefly by the Vigilance and Diligenee of *Citero* the *Consul*. Publick Thanks were given him for his great Care and Pains; and, at the Instance of *Cato*, he was first of all others styl'd *Father of his Country*, and that with loud Acclamations of the People, who said, *That tho' indeed they were indebted to several Commanders of that Age, for Riches, Spoils, and Power; yet it was to* Cicero *alone that they ow'd the Safety and Security of all these Blessings.*

U. C. 692. V. After these Disturbances were over, the Affairs of *Rome* were in a much more quiet Posture; but neither *Catiline*'s Defeat nor Death was sufficient to settle the City in a firm and lasting Peace, but still she lay expos'd to the sinister Designs which some more ambitious Senators than the rest were always forming against her Liberty: Nor could their Inclinations of that kind meet with greater Temptations, since the gaining of this only City must carry with it so great a Part of the World. And now it was that *Cæsar* began to make a greater Appearance in *Rome* than ever, being this Year made *Prætor*. He had before gone through the two Offices of *Quæstor* and *Ædile*, in the latter of which, by his Magnificence in Shews and Buildings, he had acquitted himself with much Reputation, having also the Advantage of being descended from one of the most Illustrious Families in *Rome*. He afterwards stood for the *High-Priesthood*, and, by his great Liberality, carry'd it from two of

of the moſt powerful Men in *Rome*, and his Seniors; and ſcarce any Man in the City was more remarkable, either for the Freeneſs of his Preſents, or the Largeneſs of his Bribes. He was now alſo arriv'd at a very high Degree in Learning, as well as an admirable Skill in Eloquence, having already diſputed the Prize with the moſt famous Orators, and ſcarce any thing appear'd impoſſible for his great *Genius* to undertake. Little was perform'd by him during this time of his *Prætorſhip*, beſides compoſing ſome Diſturbances occaſion'd by one *Clodius*, a young Man of a Noble Family, but of a ſcandalous Life, who being in Love with *Cæſar*'s Wife *Pompeia*, had in a Woman's Habit enter'd his Houſe in the time of a particular Feſtival, when only Women were permitted to be preſent. This brought *Clodius* into much Trouble and Danger, for prophaning thoſe ſacred Inſtitutions, and caus'd *Cæſar* to put away his Wife privately; who being ask'd the Reaſon, ſaid, *He did not believe her guilty, but* Cæſar's *Wife ought to preſerve her ſelf from the Suſpicion, as well as the Guilt of the Crime.*

The violent Heats, and the Parties, with the Factions and Diviſions, upon this and other Occaſions, ſufficiently ſhew'd, that the State was ready for a Change, and liable to become a Prey to Men of the greateſt Power and Ambition. This *Cæſar* well knew, and thought of nothing ſo much, as the Greatneſs of *Pompey*, and of ſurpaſſing, or at leaſt equalizing him in the Honour of his Exploits. Therefore, upon the expiring of his *Prætorſhip*, he procur'd the Government of *Spain*; but having contracted extraordinary Debts by his too bountiful way of Living, he was retarded in his Journey by the Proſecution of his Creditors. Whereupon he was forc'd to apply himſelf to *Craſſus*, a Perſon of vaſt Riches, of great Wit and Eloquence, and of no contemptible Valour; who

being wrought upon by the Importunities of his Wife *Tertulla*, one who no leſs lov'd *Cæſar*, than *Clodius* did *Pompeia*, became Security for 830 Talents. It was in this Government that *Cæſar* viewing the Statue of *Alexander* at *Gades*, wept to think, *That he had done nothing Great and Memorable, at an Age wherein that Prince had conquer'd the World.* And he gave indeed ſufficient Marks of his Bravery and Deſire of Glory; for inſtead of ſuſpending his Time in bare Adminiſtration of Juſtice, he pierc'd with his Arms farther into the Country, ſubduing ſeveral Nations before untouch'd, and collected together ſo vaſt a Treaſure to himſelf, in the Name of the Commonwealth, as enabled him afterwards to imitate that *Alexander*, whom he ſo juſtly admir'd.

Shortly after *Cæſar*'s Departure for *Spain*, *Pompey*, after a five Years Expedition, return'd to *Rome*, cover'd with Glories for his mighty Exploits, and great Conqueſts: He had, upon his arrival into *Italy*, ſent back his Troops, to prevent ſuch Suſpicions as might ariſe from his appearing at the Head of an Army, ſo that he obtain'd the Honour of a Triumph with a general Applauſe; and with ſo much more Splendour and Magnificence, in regard that he now triumph'd over another third Part of the World, after his receiving the ſame Honour for the Conqueſt of two Parts of it before. The Triumph laſted two Days, and yet they were much ſtreighten'd for time, and therein were expos'd the Names of 15 Conquer'd Kingdoms, and 800 Cities, with the Repeopling of 29, and 1000 Caſtles. Among the Priſoners led in Triumph, appear'd the Son of *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, with his Wife and Daughter; as alſo *Zozima*, the Wife of King *Tigranes* himſelf, and *Ariſtobulus* King of *Judæa*; the Siſter of King *Mithridates*, with her five Sons, and ſome Ladies of *Scythia*. There were likewiſe the Ho-

Hoſtages of the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, with thoſe of the King of *Comagena*; beſides a vaſt Number of Trophies, anſwering directly to each particular Battel wherein he was Conqueror. The Gold, Silver and Jewels, that made up Part of this Publick Pomp, amounted to the Value of 20000 Talents, which is 3740000 Pounds of our Money. He made it appear by an Account plainly ſtated, That he had advanc'd and improv'd the whole Revenue of the Commonwealth 120000 Talents, being above one third Part, by this Expedition, without mentioning thoſe large Sums he had diſtributed among his Men, whereof the meaneſt Soldier's Share was nigh Forty Pounds.

Pompey, tho' he had obtain'd vaſt Honour of the Senate, yet was much fear'd and hated by many, as appear'd by the great Oppoſition he met with ſhortly after, in his demanding a Confirmation of all that he had tranſacted in *Aſia*, and certain Lands for a Reward for his Soldiers: He had already prevail'd by his Ctedit in the Election of both the Conſuls, *Metellus Creticus* and *Africanus*; but in a ſhort time found himſelf miſtaken in his Choice: For *Africanus* being wholly given to his Pleaſure, never acquired much Authority in the Senate; and *Metellus* cancell'd all former Obligations, upon the Account of the Diſgrace that was ſent to his Siſter *Mutia*, whom *Pompey* had put away upon Suſpicion of her too great Familiarity with *Cæſar*. *Cato*, on the other ſide, ſet all his Power againſt the Intereſts of *Pompey*, and *Lucullus* did the like, deſiring, and obtaining of the Senate, that thoſe Decrees of his which *Pompey* had formerly repeal'd might be in force, and that thoſe made in reference to the conquer'd Countries might be null'd, and withal ſtopp'd his intended Law for rewarding his Soldiers. *Pompey*, upon this Uſage, apply'd himſelf to the *Tribunes*, (which Office he and *Cæſar* had

reſtor'd after *Sylla* had put it down) one of which, by Name *Flavius*, propos'd the Law for the Reward of the Soldiers. *Metellus* the Conſul oppos'd it very ſharply, till the Conteſt ariſing even to Blows and Bloodſhed, the *Tribune* caus'd *Metellus* to be ſent to Priſon; and when the whole Body of the Senate offer'd to make themſelves Priſoners with him, *Flavius* plac'd his *Tribunal* at the Priſon-Door, and forbad 'em Entrance. Upon which the Fathers caus'd the Walls to be broken down in another Place; and the Conſtancy of the Senate began to ſhake the Reſolution of the People, who always judg'd of Things by their outward Appearances. This *Pompey* quickly perceiv'd, and deſir'd the *Tribunes* to accommodate the Matter, pretending Commiſſion from *Metellus* for his ſo doing; now too late repenting his inconſiderate leaving his Army, and expoſing himſelf to his Enemies Hatred.

At the ſame time *Cæſar* return'd from *Spain*, the Election of new Conſuls being at hand: *Cæſar* had good Intelligence of all theſe Diſturbances, and the Reaſons of *Pompey*'s Diſſatisfaction, ſo that he now reſolv'd either to improve his own Authority with the Senate, or find a good Opportunity of quitting their Intereſt: His Services in *Spain* had ſufficiently deſerv'd a Triumph; wherefore he deſir'd it of the Senate, declaring at the ſame time his Deſign alſo of ſtanding for the *Conſulſhip*. Now theſe Deſires were inconſiſtent; for the Law forbad Entrance into the City to any one who deſir'd a Triumph; and requir'd alſo, that whoever ſu'd for the Conſulſhip, ſhou'd do it in his proper Perſon. *Cæſar* therefore wrote to the Senate, deſiring that theſe Formalities might be diſpens'd withal; but *Cato* ſtood up for the maintaining the Laws to their utmoſt Rigour, and his Opinion prevail'd; ſo that *Cæſar* choſe to decline his Triumph, and went to *Rome* and ſtood for the Con-

Conſulſhip, which Honour he very eagerly purſu'd. And well underſtanding *Pomyey*'s Credit, and his Quarrel to the Senate, this he thought a fit Conjuncture to engage himſelf into his Intereſts. *Pompey* on the other ſide was no leſs pleas'd to gain a Man of ſuch extraordinary Merit, eſpecially when *Ceſar* promis'd him to confirm all his Acts, if he could procure him to be elected; whereupon a cloſe Agreement was made between 'em. After this, *Cæſar* made it his Buſineſs to bring his Friend *Craſſus* into the League, who finding his own Intereſt was weak ſeparately, was eaſily perſuaded to join with 'em, and a former Breach between him and *Pompey* was wholly accommodated. Theſe three made a firm Combination, or Conſpiracy, *That nothing ſhou'd be done in the Commonwealth againſt any of their Intereſts, or Approbations*, which they moſt ſolemnly confirm'd with mutual Oaths and Promiſes. This was the firſt Great *Triumvirate*, which prov'd the Overthrow of the *Conſular* and *Popular* State, being a Combination of three of the greateſt Men in *Rome*, either for Valour, Authority, or Riches, *Pompey* being then about 47 Years of Age, and *Cæſar* 40.

Thus *Rome* loſt her Liberty, after ſhe had flouriſh'd many Years in a wonderful Grandeur, occaſion'd wholly by the numerous Abuſes, and notorious Corruptions in her Government and Inhabitants, which ſhortly after plung'd her into greater Miſeries than ever ſhe felt before. This remarkable Union happen'd in the *694th* Year of the City, *A. M.* 3945, in the firſt Year of the *180th Olympiad*, 449 Years ſince the Beginning of the *Conſular State*, 330 ſince the Burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, 270 ſince the Beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander* the Great, 86 ſince the Deſtruction of *Carthage*, and 58 before our Saviour's Nativity, the *Roman* Dominions containing now

all *Italy*, all *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and Part of the other, all *Spain* and *Africk*, all *Greece* and *Illyricum*, all the Kingdoms in *Aſia Minor*, with *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Media*, *Syria*, and *Judæa*, and many Iſlands beſides.

The End of the Second Book.

THE

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK III.

The Mix'd State of ROME, *from the Beginning of the First Triumvirate, to the perfect Settlement of the Empire.*

Containing the Space of 33 *Years.*

CHAP. I.

From the Beginning of the First Triumvirate, *to the Death of* Craſſus, *one of the Combination; which broke and divided that Party.*

Containing the Space of 7 *Years.*

I. THE Senate of *Rome* was now arriv'd to an extraordinary Height, whether we conſider the Extent and Fruitfulneſs of its Dominions, the Strength and Power of its Arms, the Fame and Valour of its Commanders, the Abundance and Largeneſs of its Revenues, the Compaſs and Magnificence of its City, and the Numbers and Riches, as well as Learning and Politeneſs of its Inhabitants; but ſtill it wanted conſiderably *U. C.* 694. The First *Triumvirate.*

of that Glory and Grandeur, as to Dominions, and much more of that Quiet and Sereneneſs as to Settlement, it had not long after in *Auguſtus*'s Reign. For now the State was full of Factions and Diviſions, Briberies and Corruptions, and likewiſe Feuds and Jealouſies, ſince the joining of three ſuch potent Men as *Cæſar*, *Pompey*, and *Craſſus*, which caus'd many to fear the Downfal of their ancient Liberties; and that their Fears were not groundleſs, ſufficiently eppear'd by the Event. The firſt Effect of this *Triumvirate* was the promoting of *Cæſar* to the Conſulſhip, *Pompey* and *Craſſus* employing all their Intereſt therein: He had two Competitors, *Lucerius* and *Bibulus*; the former a covetous, tho' rich Man, was taken off by large Promiſes, and brib'd to procure what Voice he cou'd for *Cæſar*. The Senators, reſolving to have *Bibulus* one of the Conſuls, made great Collections among themſelves, and gave as much on their ſide. Even *Cato*, as rigid as he was, was perſuaded that the Law which forbad all manner of Bribery on theſe Occaſions ought, in ſuch a Caſe, to be diſpens'd withal, when the Intereſt of the Commonwealth ſo much requir'd it; ſo by that means *Bibulus* was at laſt choſen Conſul with *Cæſar*.

U. C. 695. The firſt thing *Cæſar* did in his Office, was his confirming all *Pompey*'s Acts, according to Agreement, and from that time he wholly apply'd himſelf to gain the Favour of the Commons: And the better to effect it, he preferr'd a Law for dividing certain Lands in *Campania*, among ſuch of the poor Citizens as had three Children or more. This Propoſal much pleas'd the Commons, and *Cæſar* had taken the moſt proper Methods to make it paſs; for the Law was drawn up in Terms ſo very juſt and reaſonable, that no Man cou'd find fault with it. He declar'd to the Senators, *That he wou'd do nothing without their Authority, nor propoſe any of his Friends for Commiſſioners, or any Man who might be liable to Suſpicion; but that they ſhou'd be all Perſons*

Persons of known Reputation and Abilities. This plausible and cautious way of proceeding, hardly left any room for Contradiction; but still the Senate, that they might hinder the Law, and yet not seem to oppose it, adjourn'd the Affair from Day to Day; till at last *Cato* plainly and publickly declar'd, *That these Changes in State were not to be permitted*; after whom all the Senate likewise declar'd themselves to be of the same Opinion. Whereupon *Cæsar* immediately had recourse to the People, much complaining to them of the Injustice and Stubbornes of the Senate, taking also *Pompey* and *Crassus* along with him, whose Opinions he publickly ask'd concerning this Law. They both approv'd of it; and *Pompey* further declar'd, *That if such as oppos'd it should come with their Swords in their Hands, he wou'd meet their Swords, and bring a Buckler with him besides:* Whereupon a Day was appointed for the Publication of this Law.

At the appointed Day, the People gather'd together in great Numbers, and in spight of all Opposition, drove *Cato* and *Bibulus* himself with Stones and Clubs from off the Place; the *Consul*'s Axes were broken in pieces, and the People approving the Ordinance, declar'd they would have all the Senators swear to the Observation of it. Almost all took this Oath, except *Cato*, *Metellus*, and *Favonius*, and they too, at last, after much Opposition, took it, to save their Fines, and likewise their Lives: For *Cæsar* had caus'd the People to make it Capital for any one to refuse it. *Cæsar* made little use of the Senate after that, and from that time his Collegue *Bibulus* never durst appear in Publick, but kept himself at home for the remaining part of the Year. This forcible way of proceeding extremely alarm'd the Senate, every body laughing at their Idleness and Negligence; and at the Head of those Acts, where the Names of the Consuls us'd to be inscrib'd, some unknown Person, instead of *Cæsar* and *Bibulus*, wrote *Caius Cæsar* and *Julius Cæsar*, to shew that *Cæsar* govern'd alone.

Cæsar

Cæſar having freed himſelf from his Collegue, began chiefly to apply himſelf to the *Equites* or *Knights*, who much courted him; and having farm'd the Cuſtoms, deſir'd an Abatement of the Rent. The Senate refus'd to remit any thing; but he ſhortly after procur'd the People to abate a third Part. By this and other ways of gratifying the Common Sort, he perſuaded 'em to decree the Province of *Gaul* to him for five Years, with four Legions; for he deſir'd nothing ſo much as performing great Exploits; and the remaining Part of the Year he ſpent in endeavouring to eſtabliſh his Intereſt for the time to come. Therefore knowing how conſiderable a Perſon *Pompey* was, to bind him the more ſtrongly, he gave him his Daughter *Julia* in Marriage, a very virtuous and beautiful Lady. He likewiſe took care that his two Friends *Gabinius* and *Piſo* ſhould be prick'd for the following Year's Conſuls; the latter of which had lately given him his Daughter *Calpurnia*. *Clodius* he procur'd to be one of the *Tribunes*, notwithſtanding his former Affront, becauſe he knew him to be an Enemy to *Cicero*, whoſe Oration againſt *Cæſar*, in pleading for *C. Antonius*, had gain'd him the Hatred of the *Triumvirate*. And having ſettled Affairs thus, and finiſh'd his *Conſulſhip*, he departed for *Gaul*, with ſome Precipitation, in regard he was threaten'd to be call'd to account for his Conduct in his *Conſulſhip*; and tho' ſome of the *Tribunes* prevented his publick Cenſure, they cou'd not ſecure his *Quæſtor* from Condemnation.

In *Cæſar*'s Abſence, *Pompey* and *Craſſus* were not idle, and the former had fill'd the City with Soldiers; and ſince both the Conſuls were of that Party, the Senate's Authority was much weaken'd. But *Clodius* beſtirr'd himſelf more than any; a Man ſo ambitious of the *Tribuneſhip*, that he procur'd himſelf to be adopted by a *Plebeian*, becauſe he was uncapable of holding of it before. *Cicero* immediately perceiv'd that his Ruin was aim'd at; and his chiefeſt Hope was in *Pompey*, who had always ſhewn himſelf his Friend; but *Pompey* had

now

now ſacrific'd all to the Intereſts of *Cæſar* and *Craſſus*, and had lately been extremely offended with *Cicero* for his eternal Itch he had to be Jeſting. *Pompey* nevertheleſs aſſur'd him of his Protection, and *Cæſar* had offer'd to make him his Lieutenant in his *Gallick* Expedition, to which Imyloyment he had a ſtrong Inclination; but *Pompey* advis'd him not to leave *Rome*, and *Clodius* found ſome Artifice to delude him with falſe Hopes of Reconciliation, that he might be confounded and born down, before he was ſufficiently ſenſible of his Danger. In ſhort, all the World conſpir'd to deceive him; and that piercing Judgment and Quickneſs of Apprehenſion he us'd ſo much to value himſelf upon, which became altogether unſerviceable to him now, and he cou'd find no way to avoid the Blow when it came. *Clodius*, by his Diſtributions of Corn among the Poor, daily grew higher in the Favour of the People, and afterwards preferr'd a Law to forbid Water and Fire to any who had put to death any *Roman* Citizen unheard, which amounted to as munh as Baniſhment.

Now all Perſons ſaw the Danger which threatned *Cicero*; all his former Conſtancy forſook him, and he went up and down the City, ſolliciting his Cauſe, in Mourning Robes, long Beard, and unregarded Hair, attended by 20000 *Equites*, ſupplicating in his behalf, beſides many young Noblemen, whom he had taught the Rules of Eloquence, among which were the very Sons of *Craſſus*. But *Clodius* ſtill follow'd with a Party of Soldiers, inſulting and jeering him with the Poorneſs of his Spirit, till they almoſt came to throwing of Stones at each other. But the Reſpect to the *Sacroſanct* Office hinder'd *Cicero*'s ſide from returning the Injuries; yet nevertheleſs the *Senators* deſign'd to order a General Mourning; but the Conſuls ſtop'd that Debate, and *Clodius* ſummon'd 'em all to appear before the People, where *Piſo* only ſaid, *He took no Delight in Cruelty*; but *Gabinius* immediately condemn'd what *Cicero* had done as to *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy. *Cicero*'s

cero's last Retreat was *Pompey*'s Favour, who was able enough to have done him Service, but he wou'd have nothing to do in the matter; and when *Cicero* came to prefer his Cause to him, he slipt out at a Back-door to avoid seeing him. He found himself now reduc'd to the last necessity of taking up Arms for his Defence, which he might have done successfully enough; but not being able to bear the Blood-shed of his Country-men, he resolv'd, upon the Advice of *Cato*, and the rest of his Friends, to withdraw himself: So he left *Rome* in the Night-time, and went to *Sicily*. After his Retreat, *Clodius* caus'd him to be banish'd by the Votes of the People 400 Miles from *Italy*, demolishing his Villages and his House, on the Plat whereon he built a Temple to *Liberty*, and set his Goods to Sale. *Cato* was shortly after, by *Clodius*'s means, sent away, under Pretence of doing him Honour, against *Ptolemy* King of *Cyprus*; *Lucullus* had retir'd himself from the City, and *Crassus* minded only his private Affairs: So that now the greatest part of the Government of the City seem'd to lie between *Pompey* and *Clodius*.

U. C. 696. II. During these Transactions in the City, *Cæsar* was extraordinary busy and diligent in his Expedition, by which he propos'd vast Ends and Advantages to himself, having not only *Cisalpine Gaul* allotted him, but the other also, which comprehended all that space of Land, which is now call'd *France*, with a great Part of the *Low-Countries*, and some of *Germany*. His first Enterprize was against the *Helvetians*, who had wholly abandon'd their Country, burnt down their Towns and Houses, destroy'd their Provisions, and were marching into *Gaul* through his Province, to the number of above 300000 of all sorts. *Cæsar*, upon Intelligence of this, hasten'd to *Geneva*, and broke down the Bridge there; which caus'd 'em to send to him, and desire to pass that way without Molestation. But *Cæsar* resolving not to grant

grant 'em Paſſage, delay'd anſwering till he cou'd gather all his Troops together, in which ſpace he threw up a large Intrenchment from the Lake of *Geneva* to Mount *Jura*, 12 Miles long, which forc'd 'em to turn aſide, and enter *Gaul* by the way of *Sequania*. *Cæſar* follow'd them with great Diligence, and defeating a conſiderable Party of 'em, they ſent a ſecond time to deſire a Treaty; but that breaking off, upon the account of great Demands on both ſides, 4000 of *Cæſar*'s Cavalry were repuls'd by preſſing too farward upon 'em. But they dearly paid for this Advantage; for *Cæſar*, after obſerving their Motions a-while, eaſily drew 'em to a general Battel, wherein they were intirely defeated, and not above 110000 remain'd of their whole Number, their Wives and Children deſperately fighting among the Carriages, till they were cut in pieces. *Cæſar* crown'd his Victory with a more glorious Action, by gathering all who had eſcap'd, and ſending of 'em all in ſafety into their own Countries.

Cæſar reſolving not to continue without Action while the Seaſon permitted, immediately turn'd his Forces againſt *Arioviſtus*, King of the *Germans*, who had ſeiz'd on the beſt Part of *Sequania*, and uſed the Inhabitants with intolerable Severities and Oppreſſions. The *Sequanians* being *Roman* Allies, humbly begg'd Aſſiſtance of *Cæſar*, as a Man of undoubted Renown and Valour, who firſt ſent to *Arioviſtus* without Succeſs, and at laſt came to a perſonal Interview, where *Arioviſtus*'s haughty Language, and the Treachery of ſome of his Troops, brought both Armies to a Battel ſhortly after. Upon the nigh Approach of *Cæſar*, *Arioviſtus* was much diſhearten'd; for ſeeing the *Romans* coming fearleſly to engage the *Germans*, whom he imagin'd they could never withſtand, it was ſo unexpected a thing, that he admir'd at *Cæſar*'s Courage, and found his own Army ſeiz'd with a kind of Conſternation. But what added moſt to their Fears, was a ſuperſtitious Fancy rais'd by their Augurs;

gurs; which when *Cæsar* understood, he immediately attack'd 'em even in their Trenches, and upon the Hill where they were posted, till he so provok'd 'em, that they came down with great Fury to the Engagement. But they were all put to the Rout, and he closely pursu'd 'em for several Miles together, as far as the River *Rhine*, covering all the way with Spoils and dead Bodies, to the number of 80000, as some relate it. *Arioviſtus* himself escap'd in a little Boat with a small Retinue, two of his Wives and as many Daughters being taken Prisoners by *Cæsar*. These two great Wars were dispatch'd by *Cæsar* in his first Year's Expedition, which he manag'd with extraordinary Skill and Dexterity.

In the beginning of the next Spring, *Cæsar* was alarm'd by a great Confederacy against the *Romans* of all the *Belgæ*, who inhabited a third Part of *Gaul*, and were esteem'd the most powerful People in the whole Country. He hearing that they had rais'd above 280000 Men, directed his March to 'em with all speed, and bravely attacking 'em, just as they were plundering his Allies, the *Gauls* he defeated, and put to flight a mighty number of 'em; insomuch that the Marshes and deep Rivers became passable to the *Romans* by the prodigious Number of the dead Bodies, as *Plutarch* relates it. But among several Revolters, all that liv'd nigh the Ocean, yielded without fighting; wherefore he led his Army against the *Nervians*, the most savage and warlike People in those Parts. These inhabited a thick woody Country, where bestowing their Children and all their Goods in some close and convenient Place in their Forest, they set upon *Cæsar* with 60000 Men, before he thought of engaging, or had time to encamp himself. They fell on with such uncommon Fury, that they broke the *Roman* Cavalry; then surrounding the twelfth and seventh Legions, they kill'd all the Officers; and if *Cæsar* himself had not hastily catch'd up a Buckler and rush'd through his Men into the midst of the Enemy,

my, and his tenth Legion run in to his Aſſiſtance, and broke the Enemies Ranks, they had been all cut off. But tho' by the Encouragement of *Cæſar*'s extraordinary Valour, they fought beyond their Strength, yet all they cou'd do was not ſufficient to make the *Nervians* fly, who obſtinately ſtood their Ground till they were all cut in pieces, not a Thouſand of them being ſav'd. This was *Cæſar*'s ſecond Year's Expedition, and the Renown of his Victories made him formidable even in *Germany*, ſo that ſeveral Nations beyond the *Rhine* ſent and ſubmitted themſelves to him.

Upon the News of *Cæſar*'s laſt Exploits at *Rome*, the Senate decreed a ſolemn Feſtival for 15 Days, which was a greater Honour than any had receiv'd before him. Not long before which, violent Stirs and Commotions had been rais'd in the City upon the account of *Clodius*, who, after he had freed himſelf from his Enemies, began to prove an intolerable Plague and Vexation to many of the Nobility, and even to *Pompey* himſelf; ſo that now he found it very much for his Intereſt to get *Cicero* recall'd from his Baniſhment. Whereupon he employ'd *Milo*, one of the *Tribunes*, and of great Courage, for that purpoſe; and uſing his Intereſt with many others, the Matter was at laſt propounded to the Senate, where it was generally agreed to. But *Clodius* oppos'd it with the utmoſt Violence; and when the Matter was propos'd to the Body of the People, and promoted as much as poſſible by *Milo* and his Collegue, *Sextus Clodius*, aſſiſted by a Party of Gladiators, ſuddenly ſet upon the Multitude, raiſing the greateſt Diſorders imaginable: Many of the People were kill'd, the *Tribunes* were wounded, and *Quintus*, *Cicero's* Brother, was almoſt overwhelm'd with dead Bodies, and the reſt all fled. After a Day or two, *Milo* ſeiz'd upon *Clodius*, and carry'd him before the *Prætor*: Whereupon a great Conteſt aroſe, and *Clodius*'s Party, by the Aſſiſtance of *Pompey*'s Gladiators, after ſome Blood-ſhed, were beaten off. *Pompey* immediately

mediately poſſeſſing himſelf of the *Forum*, put the People upon giving their Suffrages, who with univerſal Conſent and Applauſe voted *Cicero*'s Reſtitution. The Senate likewiſe decreed Honours to ſuch Cities as had entertain'd him, and that his Houſe and Villages ſhould be rebuilt at the Publick Charge. So *Cicero*, after 16 Months Baniſhment, return'd in great Pomp and Glory, ſufficiently revenging himſelf upon *Piſo*, *Gabinius*, and others, by his Writings afterwards. He return'd in the ſecond Year of *Cæſar*'s Wars in *Gaul*.

The following Year, *Cæſar* deſigning for *Italy* himſelf, ſent out *Servius Galba*, one of his Lieutenants, with the twelfth Legion and part of the Cavalry, againſt the *Antuates*, *Veragres*, and *Seduni*, Nations ſeated from the River *Rhoſne*, as high as the *Alps*, in order to clear a Paſſage, and ſecure all manner of Traffick in thoſe Parts. *Galba* in a ſhort time defeated a very great Party, who had been ſo bold as to attack him in his Camp. *Cæſar* not long after returning, found that the *Veneti*, and ſeveral other Nations of that Part of *Gaul* call'd *Celtica*, had revolted, he turn'd a great Part of his Force againſt them: And theſe caus'd him extraordinary Trouble and many Difficulties, by reaſon of their Naval Strength, by which means they continually ſhifted themſelves, and remov'd from Place to Place. But at laſt *Cæſar* having procur'd a Fleet, attack'd the *Veneti* at Sea, and there overthrew 'em; *Craſſus*, one of his Lieutenants, the mean time ſubdu'd the *Sontiates*, with the greateſt Part of *Aquitain*, as *Sabinus*, another of 'em, did the *Unelli*, and all the Maritime Parts. Towards the latter end of the Campaign, *Cæſar* march'd againſt the *Morini*, a People nigh *Calais*, and the *Menapii* alſo, which two Nations were ſtill up in Arms. But the Seaſon being too far advanc'd, the Rains and foul Weather ſecur'd them in the Foreſts and Marſhes, and caus'd *Cæſar* to put his Men all into their Winter Quarters, which ended his third Years Expedition in *Gaul*.

III. As

III. As *Cæſar's* Conqueſts eſtabliſh'd his Reputation in *Rome*, ſo his Humanity, and other excellent Qualities, abſolutely gain'd him the Hearts and Affections of his Soldiers. He had now got great ſtore of Wealth, by which he not only diſcharg'd his Debts, but likewiſe made many great Friends by his magnificent Preſents, eſpecially to the Ladies, corrupting alſo the *Ædiles*, *Prætors* and *Conſuls* themſelves. In this Winter he paſs'd into *Italy* to *Luca*, where he took up his Head-Quarters, where there was ſo great a Concourſe of People to pay him their Reſpects, that 200 Senators were preſent together, and ſo many *Prætors* and *Proconſuls*, that 120 Bundles of Rods were ſeen there at a time. Here the *Triumvirate* took new Meaſures, and *Cæſar* fearing he might be recall'd from *Gaul*, procur'd *Pompey* and *Craſſus* to endeavour at the Conſulſhip the following Year, and ſo continue him in his Employment for five Years longer. This Deſign was ſo diſpleaſing to the Senate, and the Diſſentions ſo violent concerning it, that they went into Mourning as in Publick Calamities; ſaying, *That the Proceedings of the* Triumvirate *were dangerous to the Quiet and Liberty of* Rome. *Cato* with great Eagerneſs ſet up *Domitius* to ſtand againſt 'em; but *Pompey* reſolving to remove all Obſtacles, ſent ſome arm'd Men againſt *Domitius* as he was going to the Election, who kill'd the Slave that carry'd the Light before 'em, and diſpers'd all their Company, *Cato* himſelf receiving a Wound on the Arm, and *Domitius* hardly eſcaping: And thus by Force and Violence both *Pompey* and *Craſſus* obtain'd the Conſulſhip. The People ſhortly after being ready to give *Cato* the *Prætorſhip*, *Pompey* pretended ſtrange Prodigies in Heaven, and diſmiſs'd the Aſſembly: Then corrupting the *Tribes* with Money, he procur'd 'em to chuſe *Antius* and *Vatinius*, *Prætors*. Then by the aſſiſtance of *Trebonius* the *Tribune*, the Conſuls procur'd Laws which continu'd *Cæſar* in his Government in *Gaul* for five Years longer, and aſſign'd *Syria* and the *Parthian* U. C. 698.

Parthian War to *Craſſus*, and *Africk* and *Spain* to *Pompey*, with four Legions, whereof he lent two to *Cæſar* for the *Gallick* Wars.

U. C. 699. *Cæſar* was now proceeding in his fourth Year's Expedition, which was employ'd againſt ſeveral Nations of *Germany*, who, to the Number of 430000 of all ſorts, being driven out of their own Country by the *Suevi*, the moſt powerful of all the *Germans*, had paſs'd the *Rhine* into *Gaul*, and forc'd the *Menapii* from their Habitations. *Cæſar* well knowing the Levity of the *Gauls*, and their readineſs to caſt off their Yoke, reſolv'd to hinder the *Germans* ſettling on this ſide of the *Rhine*. And perceiving that the *Gauls* had begun to treat with 'em, he diſſembled it, and anticipating the uſual time of takimg the Field, he march'd directly to the *Germans*, who being amaz'd at his extraordinary Diligence, ſent Ambaſſadors to him concerning a Treaty. He gave them a patient Hearing and favourable Anſwers, but ſtill continu'd his March towards 'em. At laſt the Articles were agreed upon, provided *Cæſar* wou'd ſtay three Days, but he wou'd allow 'em but one; during which time his Cavalry going out to forage, met with a Party of *German* Horſe, who fell furiouſly upon 'em, and put 'em to flight, purſuing 'em to their very Camp. The *Germans* ſending their principal Officers the next Day to excuſe the Fact, *Cæſar* detain'd 'em Priſoners, and advancing with his whole Army towards the Enemy, ſurpriz'd 'em, and cut 'em all in pieces; after which, with great Skill and Induſtry, he laid a Bridge over the *Rhine*, march'd into *Germany*, reliev'd the *Ubii*, granted a Peace to ſuch as were willing to depoſe Hoſtages, burnt and deſtroy'd the reſt, and at the end of 18 Days return'd into *Gaul*, breaking down the Bridge behind him.

Cæſar finding he had time this Year to undertake a new Expedition, and led on by the Greatneſs of his Courage, and his Deſire of Glory, reſolv'd to croſs the Seas into *Britain*; an Enterprize ſo very hazardous, that few

few but *Cæsar* wou'd have ventur'd upon it. His Pretence was the *Britains* sending continual Supplies into *Gaul* against the *Romans*; and in order to his Design, he made strict Enquiries of the Merchants that traded thither, what kind of People they were, how they made War, under what Laws they liv'd, and which were their best Ports. After which he sent *Volusenus* to view the Coasts, in the mean time sending for the Ships he had employ'd against the *Veneti*, and making all other necessary Preparations. Upon the News of which, several of the *British* People sent their Ambassadors with Tokens of Submission, whom he sent back with good Words, and with them *Cornio*, the better to discover the Country under that Pretence. But *Cornio*, not daring to trust the Inhabitants, continu'd but five Days upon the Coasts, and then return'd to make Report of what he had discover'd. *Cæsar* leaving all things in *Gaul* in a peaceable Posture, and *Sulpicius Rufus* to guard the Ports, put to Sea with two Legions and Part of his Cavalry after Mid-night, and made the *British* Coasts the next Morning, where he found the Shores cover'd with Men to oppose his Landing; and finding it impracticable there, he sail'd eight Miles further. There the *Romans* met with great Opposition, and were in danger of being driven back, till the Standard-Bearer of the tenth Legion boldly leap'd ashore; and being well supported by *Cæsar*'s Diligence, all the Army landed, and the *Britains* fled.

The *Britains* were so terrify'd at the *Romans* Success, that they sent to desire a Peace, which was granted them, and some Hostages deliver'd. But a great Storm arising at this time, miserably shatter'd the Transport-ships lying at Anchor; and this, with *Cæsar*'s want of Provisions, so encourag'd the *Britains*, that instead of sending him the rest of their Hostages, they march'd with a powerful Army against him; who meeting with one of the Legions abroad, had almost defeated 'em; but *Cæsar* came in with timely

Aſſiſtance, and brought 'em off ſafely. In theſe Extremities *Cæſar* loſt no time in refitting his Ships, procuring of Proviſions, and ſecuring his Camp; and being afreſh attack'd by the *Britains*, he overthrew 'em, and burnt many of their Towns, which oblig'd 'em again to deſire a Peace. Upon which he requir'd a double number of Hoſtages, and finding the Seaſon far advanc'd, he again put to Sea, and return'd to *Gaul*, where he ſafely landed, only two Ships that had on board 300 Men, landing a little lower, were ſet upon by the *Morini*, who not long before had been reconcil'd to *Cæſar*. They were ſoon reliev'd, and *Labienus* was ſent to chaſtize the Revolters; who being reduc'd, he and *Cotta* harraſs'd the Country of the *Menapians*, who had hid themſelves in the Woods. After which the *Roman* Army was ſent to their Winter-Quarters in *Belgium*, which finiſh'd *Cæſar*'s fourth Year's Expedition.

Cæſar being very ambitious of enlarging the *Roman* Dominions, as well as increaſing his own Reputation, reſolv'd upon a ſecond Expedition into *Britain* the next Spring, and made all neceſſary Preparations for it, the Natives having given him a fair Pretence by breaking their Articles with him. At the appointed time he embark'd with five Legions and 2000 Horſe at *Iccius* or *Calais*, and landed in *Britain* without Oppoſition, where he ſhortly after forc'd one of their Camps with good Succeſs. About which time News was brought him that his whole Navy was extremely endamag'd with a Storm, and ſome of his Ships loſt; which made him retire back towards the Sea-coaſt, where, with vaſt Labour and Induſtry, he repair'd moſt of 'em in ten Days time, and wrote to *Labienus* to build more. After that he march'd againſt *Caſſivelaun*, the General of all the *Britiſh* Forces, and after ſeveral Motions, and a bloody Battel, defeated him, which ſo terrify'd the Enemy, that they dared not appear in any Body againſt him after that. Whereupon *Cæſar* advanc'd ſtill further, and paſs'd

paſs'd the *Thames* in ſpight of all Oppoſition, his Men wading up to the Neck in the Water. *Caſſivelaun*, notwithſtanding his reputed Valour, kept himſelf to the Woods and Foreſts; and finding that ſeveral Towns were ſurrender'd to *Cæſar*, and particularly his own, he alſo ſent to him for a Treaty, who receiv'd his Submiſſion, took Hoſtages, and impos'd a certain Tribute upon *Britain*: Then finding the Seaſon far advanc'd, and apprehending the Danger of ſome Tumults in *Gaul*, he croſs'd the Sea again, bringing back his Army with much Glory and Renown; where, with appeaſing ſome Diſturbances in thoſe Parts, and relieving *Q. Cicero*, Brother to the Orator, and one of his Lieutenants, who was beſieg'd by the *Eburones*, he finiſh'd his fifth Years Expedition.

The next Year *Cæſar* perceiv'd that many of the States of *Gaul* were diſpos'd to a general Inſurrection, in a great meaſure, upon the account of an imperfect Settlement of Affairs the laſt Year; whereupon he reinforc'd his Army with three *Roman* Legions, and as many Auxiliaries as he could well procure. He purſu'd his Buſineſs with great Vigour, and open'd the Campaign ſooner than ordinary, thereby to break, or at leaſt to weaken their Union. He ſoon ſubdu'd and reduc'd ſeveral Nations of the *Gauls*, as the *Nervii* firſt, and ſhortly after the *Senones*, *Carnutes*, and the *Menapians*; while his Lieutenant *Labienus* reduc'd all the People about *Triers*. After this he built a Bridge and paſs'd the *Rhine* a ſecond time, by reaſon that ſeveral of the *Germans* had enter'd into a Confederacy with the *Gauls*; where, after he had made ſome Attempts upon the *Suevi* with little Succeſs, upon the account of their flying into Woods and impaſſable Places, he turn'd his Arms againſt the *Eburones*. But while he was ravaging their Territories, the *Sigambri* croſſing the *Rhine* ſuddenly, ſet upon *Cicero*'s Camp, killing many, and caus'd a great Conſternation among his Men, but at laſt were forc'd to retire at the News of *Cæſar*'s Approach,

proach, who after that fell afreſh upon the Country of the *Eburones*; then call'd a Council in *Gaul* for the Puniſhment of all Revolters, and providing his Army with all Neceſſaries, drew it into their Winter-Quarters; and ſo ended *Cæſar*'s ſixth Year's Expedition, in the 701ſt Year of the City.

U. C. 700. IV. During theſe great Actions in *Gaul*, *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, upon the expiring of the time of their Conſulſhips, began to take care about their ſeveral Governments that were allotted 'em. *Craſſus* was extremely elevated with the Thoughts of his Expedition into *Syria* and *Parthia*, promiſing himſelf greater Succeſs and Glory than ever *Pompey* himſelf: Therefore he was very forward and diligent in his Preparations. The *Tribunes* hinder'd the raiſing of Men as much as they cou'd, and labour'd to repeal the Laws made for their Expeditions. *Pompey* was well enough ſatisfy'd, ſending his Lieutenants into his Provinces, being unwilling to leave the City, as he pretended, becauſe of the general Charge of Proviſions committed to him; an Honour which *Cicero*, in Recompence for his Reſtitution, had procur'd him from the Senate, that ſo he might have Authority all over the *Roman* Empire. But *Craſſus* betook himſelf to Force; which when the *Tribunes* ſaw themſelves unable to withſtand, they deſiſted, but loaded him with horrible and unheard of Curſes and Imprecations; and many exclaim'd againſt it as an unworthy thing to injure the *Parthians*, who deſerv'd no Ill at the *Roman* Hands, but were now in Peace with 'em. But *Craſſus* heeding no Reproaches in this Caſe, after he had got all things in a readineſs, ſet forward to his Province.

Pompey the mean time kept himſelf wholly to the City, ſtill contriving how to make himſelf more great and powerful in his Country: But the Fame of *Cæſar*'s Conqueſts, which daily fill'd the City, began to prove very ungrateful to him, who fearing nothing ſo much

much as a Rival in Point of Glory; and therefore he ſet himſelf to do all that was in his Power to diminiſh the Reputation of *Cæſar*, obliging the Magiſtrates not to publiſh any Letters they receiv'd, till he had foreſtall'd the Credit of 'em, by ſpreading falſe and diſadvantageous Reports. This gave great Cauſe of Trouble to many diſcreet and wiſe Perſons, who foreſaw the Miſeries that would follow from a Rupture between two ſuch extraordinary Perſons; and what ſtill augmented their Fears, was the Death of *Pompey*'s Wife *Julia*, Daughter to *Cæſar*, which happen'd at the ſame time. *Pompey* moſt paſſionately lov'd her, and her Wit and Virtue had always a great Aſcendant over the Diſpoſitions both of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*: The People of *Rome* gave ſufficient Teſtimony of the Reſpect they bore her by publick Demonſtrations of their Sorrow; and when *Pompey* wou'd have carry'd her Body to one of his Houſes nigh *Alba*, the People would not ſuffer it, but bore it into the Field of *Mars*, where they bury'd it with the greateſt Magnificence imaginable. From this Moment *Pompey* reſolv'd to purſue nothing but his own particular Advancement; and, for the reſtoring himſelf to the Favour of the People, he caus'd a ſtately Theatre to be built, which he dedicated by Plays and other magnificent Shows, which were no ways pleaſing to *Cicero*, as appears from one of his Epiſtles.

While *Pompey* was managing his Affairs at home, and *Cæſar* in the midſt of *Gaul*, *Craſſus* was purſuing his Expedition with all Vigour. In his Journey he march'd thro' *Jeruſalem*, where he rifled the Temple of a great Treaſure, to the Value of 10000 Talents, which *Pompey*, to his great Reputation, had ſpar'd. He ſpent many Days in weighing the Treaſure of the Idol Goddeſs in *Hierapolis* or *Edeſia* in *Syria*; and in his whole Paſſage, he ſhew'd more of Covetouſneſs than Valour, liſting many Men, and then diſcharging 'em again for Money. He likewiſe neglected his

Opportunities of failing upon the *Parthians* unprovided, deſpis'd the Friendſhip of the *Armenian* King, who gave him leave to paſs thro' his Country to *Parthia*, and took no Care about the refreſhing of his Men till he had certain News of the Enemy, and neglected to paſs down the River *Selucia*, as he was adviſ'd, where he might have been ſupply'd with Proviſions by Water. This latter Counſel he rejected by means of the cunning Inſinuations of *Abgarus* the *Oſroenian*, who having formerly been a Friend and Ally of the *Romans*, was now in the Intereſts of the *Parthians*, and feeding *Craſſus* with Money to gild over his Treachery, gave 'em notice of all that paſs'd in the *Roman* Camp. He likewiſe perſuaded *Craſſus* to lay aſide all Thoughts of *Seluſia* and *Cteſiphon*, and march directly againſt *Surenas* the *Parthian* General. This Advice he follow'd, and thereby firſt loſing his Son, a very hopeful Youth, he himſelf was circumvented by *Surenas*, under Pretence of a Treaty, and either ſlain by his Enemies, or kill'd by ſome of his own Men, to prevent his falling into their Hands. His Men were miſerably ſlaughter'd to the Number of 20000, beſides 10000 taken, and his Head carry'd to *Orodes* King of *Parthia*, who caus'd melted Gold to be pour'd into his Mouth, crying, *Now ſatisfie thy ſelf with Gold, of which thou always haſt been ſo unſatiably greedy.*

Thus fell *Craſſus* in the firſt Year after his ſetting out, one of the richeſt Men in all the *Roman* Empire, and by this, one of the Heads of the *Triumvirate* was cut off. This laid the Foundation of the following Civil War between the other two; for while he liv'd, he was a Check to 'em both, and balanc'd their Intereſts; but after this, an open Field was left for their Ambition and Emulation to work in. This happen'd in the 701*ſt* Year of the City, nigh ſeven Years after the beginning of the *Triumvirate*, and 51 before our Saviour's Nativity, *A. M.* 3952.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

From the Death of Craſſus, *to the Death of* Pompey, *which made Way for* Cæſar's *Abſolute Authority, and was the ſecond Step to the* Imperial State.

Containing above Five Years Space.

THE ſame Year that *Craſſus* was ſlain, moſt violent Diſturbances and Diſſentions were rais'd in the City, Factions daily increaſing, nothing manag'd with the ancient Equity and Moderation, and all Offices purchas'd with Bribes and Money, or elſe gain'd by Swords and Clubs. The Conſuls, finding themſelves debarr'd by the Power of the *Triumvirate*, from waging War and leading Armies as formerly, made it their ſole Buſineſs to enrich themſelves out of the Publick Revenues, or from the Bribes as well as the Salaries depending upon their Offices. *Pompey* conniv'd at all this, hoping that the Infirmities of the State would occaſion him to be created *Dictator*; and for that Reaſon he retir'd himſelf for a while, that his Friends might have a fair Opportunity of inſinuating the Neceſſity of his Preſence, as well as Authority, for the preſerving of the Peace of the City. At the time for the new Election of Magiſtrates, there was ſuch a violent Contention among the Candidates, that for eight entire Months none cou'd be elected. And what ſtill heighten'd theſe Miſchiefs, was the Death of *Clodius*, kill'd by his great Enemy *Milo*, who met him by accident by his Country-Houſe. The Body was immediately brought to *Rome*, and expos'd all bloody to the People, who caus'd great Diſturbances among the Multitude, who immediately ran furiouſly to *Milo*'s Houſe to ſet it on Fire; but he being well provided to receive 'em, repuls'd and kill'd ſeveral of the Aſſailants. Upon which they return'd to the Body, where

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where they pull'd all the Magistrates Seats in pieces, made a Funeral Pile of 'em, and set Fire to it with so much Rage, that all the stately Buildings where the Senate us'd to assemble, was burnt with *Clodius*'s Body. After this, the Mutineers dispers'd themselves all over the City, where, under Pretence of searching for *Milo*'s Friends, they committed the most insupportable Violences imaginable; so that the whole City was fill'd with Murthers and Quarrels, till no body durst walk the Streets unarm'd.

These fatal Mischiefs turn'd all Men's Eyes upon *Pompey*, as the fittest Person to redress all; but while they were consulting about creating him *Dictator*, *Cato* by many Persuasions procur'd the Senate to make him *Consul* alone, that so, if occasion were, he might be afterwards accountable for any Male-administration. This was soon after done, having the Authority of a *Dictator* conferr'd on him under a gentler Name; a thing never known in *Rome* before, but upon some extraordidary Occasion, and for some few Days, when Commission was sometimes given to the Consuls, *To take care that the Commonwealth receive no Damage.* New Troops were allotted to *Pompey*, 1000 Talents allow'd yearly for their Pay, and the Government of *Spain* was continu'd to him for four Years longer, which he administer'd by his Deputies. *Milo* was shortly after accus'd by *Appius*, *Clodius*'s Brother; and though *Cicero* himself undertook to defend him, yet it happen'd, that by his Fear of *Pompey*'s Soldiers, who surrounded him as he was pleading, he was put out in his Speech; and so *Milo*, for his Insolence, was banish'd: And when *Cicero* afterwards sent him his Oration in Writing, the Excellency of it made him answer, *That it was happy for him that* Cicero *was out in his Harangue, for otherwise he shou'd not have liv'd so well at* Marseilles *as now he did*; for that was the Place of his Exile. *Pompey* having hitherto executed the Office of a *Dictator*, took *Scipio Metellus* for his Collegue, whose Daughter

ter *Cornelia* he had lately marry'd, a Lady of no leſs Accompliſhments than Beauty. This conſiderably ſtrengthen'd *Pompey*'s Intereſts, who therefore now thought it no ways difficult to overthrow the Fortunes of *Cæſar*, waiting only till Affairs were ſomewhat more ripe for Execution: But *Cæſar* by his great Policy and Induſtry, by his noble Exploits abroad, and his bountiful Preſents at home, ſtill ſecur'd himſelf a ſufficient Party in the City. He caus'd a new *Forum* to be ſet up at *Rome*, the Place whereof coſt him 100000 Seſterces: He gave alſo to the People certain Plays, and a Publick Feaſt, in Acknowledgment of the Honours done to his Daughter *Julia*, being likewiſe a particular Encourager of Learning. At this time, among many other learn'd Men, flouriſh'd *Salluſt*, a moſt excellent *Hiſtorian*, both for *Matter* and *Stile*.

Cæſar had now almoſt compleated his Conqueſts in *Gaul*, when the Troubles in *Rome*, and his Abſence, occaſion'd many of the Nations to endeavour once more the Recovery of their Liberty, purſuing their Deſigns with greater Vigour than ever, chuſing *Vercingetorix* for their General. *Cæſar* reſolving to loſe no time, forc'd his way over the Mountains, thro' vaſt deep Snows, and after ſome various Succeſs againſt the Enemies numerous Armies, he overthrew *Vercingetorix*, who, upon that, retir'd to *Aleſia*, a City of the *Mandubii*, ſhutting himſelf up with no leſs than 80000 Men, and made all neceſſary Proviſions for a Siege. *Cæſar*, notwithſtanding the Hazard of ſuch an Attempt, ſhortly after inveſted the Place, and here he ſhew'd an admirable Skill and indefatigable Induſtry, in his vaſt and prodigious Works he rais'd againſt this Place, both to defend himſelf, and diſtreſs the Town, well knowing the great Numbers of the Succours that were marching to relieve it. For though the City, by the extraordinary Height of its Walls, and the Multitude of its Defendents, appear'd to be impregnable, he encounter'd with greater Difficulties without, being in a ſhort time

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time beſieg'd himſelf by 250000 of the choiceſt of the *Gauls*. Yet by means of his double and treble Trenches, his mighty Lines of Contravalation, and his wonderful Management and Vigilance, he repuls'd the Relievers, and ſoon after he became Maſter of the Town, to his great Honour and Reputation, all other Places ſubmitting without Delay. And thus ended *Cæſar*'s ſeventh Years Expedition in theſe Parts, which, as it was the moſt hazardous and dangerous, ſo it was the moſt honourable and glorious that ever he undertook.

The *Gauls*, notwithſtanding their great Loſſes, and the irreſiſtible Power of *Cæſar*'s Arms, reſolv'd to try their Fortune once more, and many of their Nations join'd again in Confederacy. *Cæſar* having Intelligence of their Deſigns, began his March from *Bibracte*, and made great Devaſtations throughout the Territories of the *Bituriges* in *Aquitain*, and ſubdu'd ſeveral of the People about thoſe Parts. *C. Fabius*, one of his Lieutenants, alſo reduc'd ſome Parties of 'em in the mean time, and *Caninius*, another of his Lieutenants, defeated likewiſe ſeveral other Parties; after which *Cæſar* join'd him, and inveſted *Uxellodunum*, a City of the *Cadurci*, a Place very ſtrong by Situation; yet he obtain'd it with little or no Bloodſhed, by turning the Courſe of the Springs that ſupply'd the Place with Water. After this, the reſt of the Places in *Aquitain* ſubmitted, and going to *Narbone*, he then diſpos'd his Men into their Winter-Quarters, in ſuch a manner, that they prov'd very uſeful to him afterwards in the Civil Wars. And this finiſh'd *Cæſar*'s eighth and laſt Years Expedition in *Gaul*, and all the Parts thereabouts, after a long and almoſt uninterrupted Courſe of many glorious Conqueſts and noble Victories, to the mighty Increaſe of his own Honour and Renown, and the great Inlargement of the *Roman* Dominions and Riches, as well as the Terror of their Name and Authority.

II. Now the Jealouſies between *Cæſar* and *Pompey* began to be more conſpicuous than ever, and well might

might a Rupture be expected, when two Persons, the greatest that ever *Rome* produc'd, were become Rivals in Glory; especially when their Tempers were such, that the latter could not endure an Equal, nor the former a Superior. *Cæsar* had now rais'd himself to an extraordinary Height both as to Riches and Reputation; then the Grandeur of his Mein, his unbounded Generosity, and his noble Actions, had intirely engag'd the Affections of his Soldiers to him, who all lov'd him almost to Adoration. Again, a great many of the Senators stood oblig'd to him for considerable Sums of Money, which he had lent 'em without Interest: He entertain'd with Magnificence all such as serv'd under him, even to the very Slaves; and his Army was a Refuge to all manner of Criminals, and such as were much in Debt, a great many of which he discharg'd at his own Expence; but for some whose Debts were larger than ordinary, he us'd to say, *That one Civil War wou'd make all even.* All this was done at *Gaul*'s Expence, which might occasion this Observation, *That* Cæsar *conquer'd the* Gauls *with the* Roman *Steel, and the* Romans *with the* Gallick *Gold.* *Pompey* had observ'd, that *Cæsar* in his *Consulship* had render'd himself very distastful to the Senate, therefore he made it his Business by his outward Carriage and fair Demeanor, to gain their Favour, which he did with good Success. *Cæsar* was aware of this, and for that Reason endeavour'd vigorously for the Consulship in his Absence, and likewise to procure his Government to be prolong'd, trying all Ways and Methods to keep his Army till he cou'd get to be chosen Consul. But he soon found that this Affair did not succeed according to his Wish, being chiefly hinder'd by *Marcus Marcellus*, one of the present Consuls, and his great Enemy. Though he was sufficiently sensible of *Pompey*'s Jealousy, he resolv'd to endeavour once more to preserve his Friendship; therefore offer'd him his Niece *Octavia*, and demanded *Pompey*'s Daughter for himself; but *Pompey* thought fit to make choice

of

of an Alliance with *Scipio*, whom he join'd with him in the Conſular Dignity for the laſt five Months.

The firſt publick Appearance of the Diviſion began from *Pompey*'s two Laws, publiſh'd in his Conſulſhip, the firſt being, *To enquire into the Miſcarriages of Officers for twenty Years laſt paſt*; and the latter, *To forbid all abſent Perſons to demand any publick Employment*; both which were deſign'd againſt *Cæſar*. But ſtill no great Violence was us'd, but all was manag'd with extreme Artifice and Cunning till the Election of the new Conſuls, who were *Æmilius Paulus*, and *Calidius Marcellus*, a Kinſman of *Marcus*. Now every one with great Impatience expected to find how the Conſuls would declare themſelves; the firſt had been well ſecur'd by a large Preſent of 1500 Talents from *Cæſar*; but *Calidius* was *Cæſar*'s Enemy, and being carry'd on by the ſame Spirit with his Kinſman *Marcus*, follow'd alſo his Methods. *Curio* was likewiſe one of the Tribunes, a Perſon of the higheſt Fame for his Eloquence and Pleadings, and of great Parts and Reſolution, but now much burthen'd with Debts both for himſelf and others, and particularly for *Marcus Antonius*, one of his Collegues. *Curio* had been one of the moſt violent againſt *Cæſar*'s Intereſt; but *Cæſar*, who well knew all his unhappy Circumſtances, quickly found a way to bring him over, by furniſhing him with means to quit himſelf of thoſe Incumbrances. *Curio*, after this, made uſe of Practices very refin'd, forbearing to declare himſelf of *Cæſar*'s Party, the better to penetrate the Deſigns of the other Party, and after that ſought an Opportunity to break with *Pompey*. In order to which, he demanded to have the Charge of the High-ways conferred upon him, altho' he knew it would be deny'd him; and upon refuſal, he ſhew'd his Reſentment; and ſoon after, when *Marcellus* the Conſul propos'd with great Earneſt the recalling *Cæſar* from his Government, *Curio* applauded his Wiſdom, adding withal, *That it was but Juſtice that* Pompey *and* Cæſar *ſhould be both*

call'd

call'd from their Governments together. All apprehended the meaning of this Propoſal, and *Pompey's* Friends began to be very troubleſome to *Curio*, particularly *Appius*, one of the Cenſors, who threaten'd to expel him the Senate, and propos'd it in one of the Aſſemblies. *Curio* ſubmitted to any thing decreed againſt himſelf in particular, but would yield to nothing where *Cæſar's* Intereſt was ſtruck at, and the Conſul *Æmilius* ſecur'd him from the Affront offer'd him by *Appius*.

Curio reſolving not be diſcourag'd, made the ſame Propoſal to the People as he had done to the Senate, which was receiv'd with the greateſt Applauſe imaginable; and as a further Teſtimony of their Satisfaction, they gave Power to *Cæſar* to demand the Conſulſhip without removing out of his Province. This caus'd *Pompey* to leave the City, under Pretence of going to his Government; but he really went no further than a Country-houſe of his, where falling ſick, he wrote to the Senate, *That he was ready to reſign all his Employments, when* Cæſar *did the like, which he wou'd confirm upon his return to* Rome. *Curio* immediately took this Advantage, and told him, *It was his Duty to begin what he propos'd, and he would engage that his Example ſhou'd be follow'd by* Cæſar. The Matter was then publickly debated, but ended only in an Order, that two Legions ſhou'd be drawn out of *Cæſar's* and *Pompey's* Army to be ſent againſt the *Parthians*; and this was only to weaken *Cæſar's* Army, for *Pompey* likewiſe demanded the Legions which he had formerly lent him. *Cæſar* immediately apprehended the Reaſon of this Order, and *Pompey's* Deſigns; nevertheleſs he made no Oppoſition, but ſurrender'd two Legions, generouſly giving each Man five and twenty Crowns. *Cicero* at this time return'd to *Rome* from his Government of *Cilicia*, where he pretended, for his great Exploits, to have merited the Honour of a Triumph. His Abſence had hinder'd him from joining with either Party, and his preſent Pretenſions oblig'd him to be a Mediator between both,

but

but no Propoſals of Accommodation would be hearken'd to; for *Appius*, returning from *Cæſar*'s Army, publiſh'd abroad, *That his Soldiers had no Eſteem for him, and that they would certainly come over to the Senate's Party, whenever they recover'd this ſide of the* Alps. This Relation gave *Pompey* great Confidence, ſo that *Cicero* could not be heard: And when he afterwards ask'd *Pompey* what Forces he had to oppoſe *Cæſar*, his Anſwer was, *That he need but ſtamp with his Foot, and an Army would ſtart out of the Earth.* Many of the Senators began to talk very meanly of *Cæſar*, and *Cato* himſelf ſcornfully declar'd, *That he wou'd bring him to an Account for his Actions, and that he ſhou'd be treated as* Milo *had been before him.*

Cæſar often writ to the Senate, to deſire to be continu'd in his Government, as *Pompey* had been, or be recall'd both at the ſame time, or elſe be permitted to ſtand for the Conſulſhip by Proxy. Theſe Propoſals being rejected, he repaſs'd the *Alps* with the third Legion, and march'd to *Ravenna*, from whence he writ a Letter to the new Conſuls, *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Claudius Mercellus*, wherein, after an honourable mention made of his own Exploits, he ſignify'd, *That he was ready to reſign all his Power, in caſe* Pompey *did the like; otherwiſe they might reaſonably expect, that he cou'd not be wholly inſenſible of the Injury that wou'd be done him, as well as his Country.* Great Debates and violent Diſſentions were rais'd about this Letter; but after a long time ſpent, a Decree was at laſt iſſu'd out, *That* Cæſar *ſhou'd disband his Forces within ſuch a time, and if he refus'd Obedience he ſhou'd be declared an Enemy to the Commonwealth.* And tho' this Decree was much oppos'd by many, yet immediately after follow'd another, publiſh'd only in Caſes of Extremity, *That the Conſuls and other Magiſtrates ſhou'd take care that the Commonwealth receiv'd no Damage*; and *Pompey* was order'd to command what Troops were in a readineſs. From that moment a Succeſſor was order'd to *Cæſar*, which was *Domitius*, and all were up in Arms in *Rome*. *Cæſar* receiv'd a

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ſpeedy account of this from *Curio*, *Anthony* and *Longinus*, who fled to him in Slaves Habits, in which Condition he ſhew'd 'em to his Army, telling his Men, *That the Senate had dealt baſely and ungratefully by him, who had done 'em ſo many eminent Services, as well as unjuſtly and inhumanely by his Friends, whoſe Perſons were ſacred by their Offi e, but were now forc'd to conceal themſelves under the mean Habits of Slavery, to ſhun the Fury of his Enemies; and all for maintaining thoſe undoubted Rights, which even raging* Sylla *durſt never violate.* In fine, tearing his Robes, and falling into Tears, he conjur'd all his Soldiers, *That they wou'd defend his Honour and Reputation, after their ſerving nine Years under him with ſo much Glory and Renown.* The Soldiers all with loud Acclamations anſwer'd him, *That they were ready to revenge all Injuries done to their General*; and thus began the famous Civil War, about four Years after the Death of *Craſſus.*

III. Among the many Warlike Qualities of *Cæſar*, his Diligence in preventing any Enemy, and purſuing a Victory, was the moſt admirable; and here he found it moſt neceſſary, ſince he had to deal with a Commander far more expert than any he had hitherto been engag'd with; therefore his utmoſt Skill and Policy was to be made uſe of at this Juncture. He firſt ſent a choice Party of Men, arm'd only with Swords, to put themſelves as ſecretly as poſſible into *Arminium*, the firſt City of his Province. He himſelf ſpent his time at *Ravenna*, in ſeeing the Combat of the Gladiators; and when Night came, ſat down at the Table with his Friends, but ſoon roſe again, deſiring 'em, *to make themſelves welcome, and he wou'd be with 'em in a moment*; but he had ſecretly orderly ſome Mules to to be put in his Chariot, in which Equipage he ſet forward towards *Arminium*, with ſome few of his particular Friends he had order'd to follow him ſeveral ways, and one Legion, which was all he had there. It was a troubleſome Journey; but they reſolv'd to undergo it; ſo ſometimes on Foot, and ſometimes in his Chariot, *Cæſar* arriv'd upon the *U. C.* 705.

Banks of the *Rubicon*, a little River which parted *Ciſalpine Gaul* from the reſt of *Italy*. Here he began to have ſome Remorſe, and all the Misfortunes of the ſucceeding War preſented themſelves to his melancholy Mind, which put him upon conſidering, what Poſterity wou'd think of this Paſſage. Sometimes he had Thoughts of going back, and turning himſelf to *Aſinius Pollio*, *'Tis now in our Power*, ſays he, *to return; but if we paſs this fatal River, our only Retreat muſt be to our Arms.* Some Authors ſay, That juſt by the Place where he ſtood, of a ſudden there appear'd a Man of extraordinary Stature, who made excellent Muſick with a Reed he play'd upon; which uncommon Sight drew many of the Soldiers to him, amongſt the reſt, a Trumpeter, from whom this Man ſnatch'd his Trumpet, and ſounding a Charge with a more violent Blaſt than ordinary, threw himſelf into the Water, and paſs'd over to the other ſide. *Cæſar*, without further Conſideration, paſs'd the River, crying, *Let us go where the Gods ſo loudly call, and the Fury of our Enemies drive us!* From thence he march'd directly to *Arminium*, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of it without Reſiſtance: So with 6000 Men only he began that famous War, ſending Orders to the reſt of his Troops to follow with all poſſible Diligence.

This unexpected Enterprize gave moſt dreadful Apprehenſions to the City of *Rome*, every one imagining *Cæſar* at the Gates with all his Army; and it was an odd Confuſion to ſee the Country People running to the City for Safety, and the Citizens flying into the Country for Security. *Pompey* himſelf was amaz'd, and *Cicero* under great difficulties, as appear'd by his Epiſtles upon this occaſion; but what was the greateſt Trouble to *Pompey*, was the biting and reflecting Words of many of his own Party, ſome laying Indiſcretion to his charge, others Injuſtice; and *Favonius*, a crack-brain'd Philoſopher, and a pretended Imitator of *Cato*, bad him ſtamp with his Foot and produce his Armies as he had promis'd. At laſt *Pompey* told 'em, *That they ſhou'd not*

want

want an Army if they wou'd follow him: That it was neither their Houſes nor their Provinces that cou'd inſpire 'em with the Love of Vertue and of Liberty, but Men of Honour might find it in all Retreats; and that their following him wou'd be the only way to put 'em in a Condition of returning to their Houſes with Glory. The Conſideration of the preſent Danger, made 'em reſolve to quit the City; ſo the Conſuls, and almoſt all the Senate, with great Precipitation, follow'd him to *Capua*, where were the two Legions which *Cæſar* had ſent from *Gaul*. *Pompey* with all Diligence put his Affairs in order, and reſolv'd to retire towards *Brunduſium*. He left *L. Domitius* in *Corfinium*, and *Cicero* to command in *Capua*, who receiv'd his Commiſſion with ſome Reluctancy; *Pompey*'s Affairs ſeem'd to be in a better Poſture by *Labienus*'s leaving *Cæſar*, and coming over to him, which he did upon ſome Diſcontent, expecting to have been made Equal with *Cæſar*. *Cæſar* ſeem'd little to value that, but either through Policy or Generoſity, ſent all his Money and Equipage after him. Still *Pompey* thought it moſt convenient to ſend to *Cæſar* with Propoſals of Accommodation, which he did by *Lutius Cæſar* his Kinſman, and *Roſcius* the *Prætor*. But the Demands on both ſides could not be agreed upon, for *Pompey*'s Buſineſs was only to gain time, having his chief Reliance upon the Forces of the *Eaſt*, which were abſolutely in his Intereſt. *Cæſar* too depending upon the Valour and Affection of his Soldiers, had no Deſign of quitting his Arms, but only to make it appear as fairly as he cou'd, that he had taken 'em up with Juſtice.

Cæſar now, without loſing any further time, ſeiz'd upon the Towns of *Picenum*, which lay in his way, and in a very ſhort time became Maſter of all that Province. This Progreſs redoubled the Fears at *Rome*, and *Lentulus*, who was come back to ſeize the publick Treaſure, was oblig'd to betake himſelf to flight. In the mean time the twelfth Legion came to join *Cæ-*

ſar, who march'd to *Aſculum*, which *Lentulus* had poſſeſs'd himſelf of, with ten Cohorts; but upon *Cæſar*'s Approach retreated in Confuſion, a great Part of his Soldiers deſerting him, as they had done *Curio* not long before. *Cæſar* march'd directly after *Pompey*, not offering to attack *Rome*, as knowing it would fall of Courſe to the Conqueror; and the firſt Place that made any Reſiſtance was *Corfinium*, the Metropolis of the Country of the *Peligni*, which was poſſeſs'd by *Domitius*, who had lately rais'd 20 Cohorts out of thoſe Parts. Now as this was the firſt Town that durſt make Head againſt *Cæſar*, all Perſons, with great Impatience, expected the Succeſs of the Enterprize. *Cæſar* made his Approaches with two Legions, and was engag'd by five Cohorts, who defended a Bridge about three Miles from the City; but were ſoon driven back to the Gates of *Corfinium*, which thereupon was immediately inveſted. *Domitius* prepar'd himſelf for a vigorous Defence, and wrote to *Pompey*, *That now he had a fair Opportunity to hem in* Cæſar, *if he would come up; That it wou'd not be for his Reputation to leave ſo many Senators and Knights which were now beſieg'd, as well as ſo many Soldiers, to the Mercy of the Enemy.* *Pompey*'s Anſwer was, *That he was not then in a Condition to hazard all in a Battle; that* Domitius *had engag'd himſelf in* Corfinium *contrary to his Opinion, and therefore he ought to think of making as fair and ſpeedy Retreat as was poſſible.* Upon this Refuſal it was that *Cicero* became ſo angry with *Pompey*, as appears from one of his Epiſtles to *Atticus*.

Domitius conceal'd *Pompey*'s Anſwer, giving out, that *Pompey* would bring ſpeedy Relief; But at the ſame time conſulted with his Friends how to make a private Retreat; which being at laſt diſcover'd, his Men ſeiz'd on him, and ſent to *Cæſar*, offering to deliver him up, and ſurrender the Place. *Cæſar* concluded the Offer ought not to be rejected, but however kept his Men from entring that Night, to prevent all

all Violences. *Lentulus* being in the Town, came out to him, and humbly begg'd Pardon, putting him in mind of their ancient Friendſhip, and acknowledging the many Favours he had formerly receiv'd at his Hands. *Cæſar* interrupting him, told him, *That he came not from his Province to injure any Man, but for his own Security, and the Reſtoration of the* Tribunes *Office, and the Liberty of* Rome. *Lentulus*, ſufficiently encourag'd by this Anſwer, deſir'd Leave to return into the Town to give the like Encouragement to others who were now deſperate as to their Fortunes; and the next Day *Cæſar* ſent to the *Senators* and *Knights* who were in Town, with their Children, and the Officers of the Garriſon, to come forth. All theſe he protected from the Inſolence of the Soldiers, and having a little inſiſted upon the point of Ingratitude, he gave 'em all their Liberty to go where they pleas'd; and to ſhew that he as little ſought after Money as the Lives of his Enemies, he reſtor'd to *Domitius* 6000 Seſterces, which he had depoſited in the Bank at *Corfinium*, though he was ſatisfy'd that it was Publick Money, and given out by *Pompey* to pay Soldiers. He caus'd *Domitius*'s Men to take the Military Oath to himſelf, and after ſeven Days Reſpite at *Corfinium*, he march'd through the Confines of the *Marrucini*, *Tarentini*, and *Larinates*, and then enter'd *Apulia*.

Pompey having Intelligence of what paſs'd at *Corfinium*, immediately retreated to *Brunduſium*, where the Conſuls ſtrait embark'd for *Dyrrachium* in *Epirus* with thirty Cohorts, *Pompey* continuing in the Town with twenty others. *Cæſar* ſhortly after arriv'd before the Place, and having taken *Magius*, an Engineer of *Pompey*'s, freely ſet him at Liberty, with Orders to tell his General, *That it might be for the common Intereſts of 'em both, as well as the Good of the Republick, for them two to have an Interview, and not to truſt Matters to a third Perſon.* *Magius* brought him no Anſwer back, which caus'd *Cæſar* to endeavour the blocking up the Entry of the Port. To this purpoſe he order'd a Bank or Dam to

be rais'd on each ſide the Haven, where it was narroweſt, and the Water ſhallow enough; but where it was too deep, he caus'd ſeveral Veſſels to be faſten'd together thirty Foot ſquare, moor'd with Anchors at each Corner, and plac'd 'em over-againſt the Entry of the Haven, with deſign to form a ſort of a Stacade or Chain: The firſt Bridge of theſe Veſſels was cover'd with Earth and green Turf, that the Defendants might have firm Footing to fight upon, and the two Sides were furniſh'd with Hurdles in the nature of Parapets, and every fourth Float carry'd a Tower two Stories high, to defend the Works from Attacks and from Fire. It was eaſy to judge for what Deſign all this great Labour and Pains was undertaken; therefore *Pompey* endeavour'd to ruin the Works, and to that purpoſe made uſe of ſeveral Merchant-Ships that were then in the Haven; upon which he rais'd Towers of three Stories high, furniſh'd with Engines and all ſorts of Darts. Theſe he ſent againſt *Cæſar*'s Veſſels, hoping to ſeparate 'em, and hinder the continuation of the Work, which occaſion'd daily ſome little Skirmiſhes with Darts and Arrows.

Cæſar was ſtill forward enough to come to an Accommodation, and ſent to have an Interview with *Pompey*; but Anſwer was return'd, *That the Conſuls being abſent, no Propoſitions of that kind cou'd be receiv'd.* From this time he ſet his Thoughts wholly upon the War, half his Buſineſs being already compleated, by reaſon the Veſſels which tranſported the Conſuls were return'd from *Dyrrachium*, which Opportunity *Pompey* thought fit to make uſe of for withdrawing himſelf; and to ſecure his Retreat, he caus'd all the Gates of the City to be wall'd up, and ſeveral Houſes to be demoliſh'd in the croſs Streets. The Avenues of the Port were cut off by certain Pits, fill'd with Stakes, and cover'd with Hurdles and Earth, two only being left free, and thoſe ſtrongly defended with Palliſadoes and Joiſts, planted after the manner of Fraize. After theſe Precautions, he caus'd his Soldiers to embark with all imaginable Si-

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lence, leaving only ſome Archers and Slingers upon the Walls, who were order'd to make their Retreat in ſmall Boats on purpoſe, as ſoon as his Soldiers were got on board. The Inhabitants of the Town, provok'd by the Ruin of their Houſes, advis'd *Cæſar* of their Retreat, who immediately put his Troops into Order, and order'd Ladders to be planted at the ſame moment that *Pompey* would give the Signal to his Archers, who notwithſtanding ſecur'd their Retreat by certain private Paths which they were acquainted with: So that *Pompey* got all his Troops on board, and immediately weigh'd Anchor: *Cæſar*'s Men got over the Walls, and had fallen into the Pits prepar'd for 'em, had not timely warning from the Inhabitants prevented it. This was a conſiderable ſtop to 'em, but not ſo great but they had time enough, with ſome ſmall Veſſels, to ſeize upon two of *Pompey*'s Ships, which through haſte had run themſelves aground, while the reſt made what Sail they cou'd, and ſav'd themſelves. Thus did *Pompey* with great Skill and Diligence make his Eſcape; and thus did *Cæſar* in 60 Days time become Maſter of all *Italy* with little or no Bloodſhed.

IV. *Cæſar* finding he cou'd not follow *Pompey* for want of Shipping, reſolv'd to paſs over into *Spain*, to drive out *Pompey*'s Troops, all old Soldiers, under the Command of *Afranius* and *Petreius*; but firſt he deſign'd for *Rome*, to ſettle there ſome ſort of Government. He likewiſe ſent a conſiderable Force into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; the one kept by *Cato*, and the other by *Aurelius Cotta*, but both were abandon'd by them upon the Arrival of *Cæſar*'s Troops. *Cæſar* in his Journey to *Rome* gave *Cicero* a Viſit, but could not perſuade him to go thither with him, tho' much Civility paſs'd between 'em. Upon his Arrival at *Rome*, he compos'd a Body of ſuch Senators as he found there, and call'd them the Senate; and when they were aſſembled, made 'em a plauſible Speech in Juſtification of all his Actions; then he propos'd the ſending of Ambaſſadors to *Pompey*; but finding none

to undertake that Office, he began to consider about furnishing himself with Money, and his Recourse was to the publick Treasury, which he wou'd have had open'd; but *Metellus* the Tribune boldly oppos'd him in that, alledging, *That the Money was sacred, that the Law forbad it, and horrible Imprecations had been denounced against such as touch'd it upon any Occasion but the* Gallick *War.* To which, *Cæsar* reply'd, *That Arms and Laws seldom agreed well together, and that he had remov'd the former Reasons by reducing all* Gaul *to the* Roman *Obedience*; and immediately went to the Doors of the Treasury, but the Keys cou'd not be found; whereupon *Cæsar* sent to the People to break open the Locks; and when *Metellus* had still the Boldness to dispute it with him, in a great Rage he laid his Hand upon his Sword, threatning to kill him, with these Words; *Know, young Man, that it is harder for me to say this than to do it:* Which so terrify'd *Metellus*, that he retir'd. *Cæsar* took out 3000 Pound Weight of Gold out of the Treasury, and ever after that, had the Treasury at his Command in all his Wars.

After this *Cæsar* departed from *Rome* upon his *Spanish* Expedition, and knowing all *Pompey*'s Circumstances, said with his usual Confidence, *That he went to find an Army without a General, and then he wou'd come back to find a General without an Army.* He receiv'd News in *Provence*, that the People of *Marseilles* had resolv'd to refuse him Entrance, that *Domitius* had got thither with seven Gallies fill'd with Slaves, Libertines, and Peasants that belong'd to his Lands, and that the *Marseillians* had call'd down all the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Mountains to their Assistance. When *Cæsar* sent to 'em to submit, they return'd for Answer, *That they resolv'd to take part with neither* Cæsar *nor* Pompey, *to both whom they had equal Obligations.* *Cæsar*, incensed at their Proceedings, immediately besieg'd the Town with three Legions, and order'd twelve Ships of War to be built at *Arles*, which were compleated in a Month, and brought before *Marseilles.* *Cæsar* finding the Siege

like

like to be very tedious, left *D. Brutus* to command the Ships, and *C. Trebonius* to carry on the Siege, and ſo departed for *Spain* with all ſpeed, where *Fabius*, whom he had ſent before, join'd him with three Legions, which, together with his own Forces, made a noble Army. Upon a Report in that Country, That *Pompey* was coming by way of *Mauritania* to command his Troops in Perſon, *Cæſar* us'd extream Diligence; and to aſſure himſelf of his Men, he borrow'd Money of all his Officers, which he diſtributed among his Soldiers, by that means engaging his Officers by their own Intereſts, and his Soldiers by his Liberality. *Afranius* and *Petreius* were then poſted nigh the City *Ilerda* in *Catalonia*, with ſufficient Forces. *Cæſar* advanc'd towards 'em, and encamp'd along the River *Segre*, over which *Fabius* had laid two Bridges; but endeavouring to get between the River *Herde* and the Enemies Camp, a bloody Conteſt enſu'd, which continu'd for many Hours, in which *Cæſar*'s Men were much ſurpriz'd with the Enemies irregular way of Fighting, fearing to be hemm'd in; till by *Cæſar*'s incouraging 'em, they preſs'd forward into a dangerous Place, which they ſtill maintain'd for five Hours, and then retreated in good Order, both Parties attributed to themſelves the Honour of the Victory; *Cæſar* for driving the Enemy before him, and *Afranius* for keeping the Poſt for which they fought.

Afranius had greater Appearance of Advantage ſhortly after; for the continual Rains carry'd away *Cæſar*'s two Bridges, and hinder'd the River from being fordable any where: Which reduc'd him to great Streights, not being able to get Proviſions, nor to join a Supply of Forces that came to him from *Gaul*, nor yet to rebuild his Bridges, by reaſon of the Violence of the Stream, and the Oppoſition he met with from the Enemy, who lay on the other ſide of the River. The News of this gave ſuch great Hopes to *Pompey*'s Party at *Rome*, that they went in great Numbers to *Afranius*'s

Afranius's Wife, to congratulate her Husband's good Fortune; and ſeveral of the Senators, who were Neuters before, went over to *Pompey*, and among them *Cicero* himſelf, though he took an Opportunity of leaving him again ſhortly after. But all theſe great Hopes vaniſh'd by means of *Cæſar*'s extraordinary Diligence, who caus'd ſlight Boats cover'd with Leather to be made, and while the Enemy were diverted, by endeavouring to intercept ſome *Gauls* who were coming to join him, he carry'd the Boats in Waggons twenty Miles diſtant from his Camp, put 'em upon the River, and with a wonderful Quickneſs and Dexterity caus'd his Legions to paſs the River; by which means he re-built the Bridges. Thus he re-eſtabliſh'd his Paſſage, got Proviſions, join'd the Forces which came to his Aſſiſtance, by his great Skill aſtoniſh'd the Enemy, and gain'd ſo much Reputation, as, together with the News of *Brutus*'s beating the *Marſeillians* by Sea, gain'd him five conſiderable Towns, and made ſeveral others capitulate. *Cæſar*, who ſpar'd no Pains to diſtreſs his Enemies, threw up divers Intrenchments and Ditches, in order to cut off the Water from their Camp, and to make the *Segre* fordable. *Afranius* and *Petreius* dreading the Succeſs of this Enterprize, after ſeveral Motions of both Armies, reſolv'd to reach *Octogeſa*, ſituated on the *Iberus*, where they had ſent a Party before to lay a Bridge over. In order to this Deſign, they decamp'd at Midnight; but *Cæſar* ſent his Cavalry after 'em, and oblig'd 'em to ford the River before they could come at their Bridge; then leaving his Baggage in his Camp, he ſuddenly croſs'd the River with his Infantry, and purſu'd them ſo cloſe, that they cou'd neither reach their intended Place, nor return to their former Camp. By which means he reduc'd 'em to ſuch Extremities of Hunger and Drought, that they were all oblig'd to yield to his Mercy without any Bloodſhed.

Cæſar, to ſhew his kind and generous Temper, diſmiſs'd 'em all, and ſatisfy'd 'em with incredible Courteſies,

teſies, ſuch as were never practis'd elſewhere towards Enemies. And in a ſhort time after he became Maſter of all *Spain*, ſending back his Enemies loaden with Shame and Obligations, to publiſh his extraordinary Clemency and Valour, while he himſelf departed for *Marſeilles*, which was then juſt upon the Point of yielding. Upon *Cæſar*'s Arrival they capitulated: During which Time *Domitius* made his Eſcape by Sea; *Cæſar* pardon'd the Inhabitants more upon the Account of their Name and Antiquity, as he told 'em, than for any other Merit, and leaving two Legions in Garriſon, he departed for *Rome*. Upon his Arrival there, he was receiv'd with great Satisfaction by moſt People, and made *Dictator* by *M. Lepidus* the *Prætor*; but finding this Office not well lik'd of, he laid it down after holding of it 11 Days, and caus'd himſelf to be choſen Conſul with *Servilius Iſauricus*. His Deſign was now to procure himſelf as many Friends as poſſible; in purſuance of which purpoſe he preferr'd ſeveral favourable Laws; the firſt was concerning the borrowing of Money for the War, which, as it uſually happens, having ruin'd almoſt all Credit, and render'd a great many Men incapable of Payment, *Cæſar* order'd, that an Eſtimate ſhould be made of Inheritances, at the ſame Value they bore before the War, and that Creditors ſhould take them according to his Eſtimation; by which means he took away the Fears of a general Bankrupcy, and ſupported the Credit of the Debtors. Beſides, he brought over to his Party all ſuch as expected to be favour'd in this general Valuation, which was the principal Deſign of the Law. The other Law was, for the calling home thoſe who had been condemn'd during *Pompey*'s preſiding in the paſſing Sentences of Juſtice. *Cæſar* likewiſe made ſeveral other Ordinances, and after having quitted the Name and Dignity of *Dictator*, departed for *Brunduſium* to go againſt *Pompey*, before which time he receiv'd the bad News of the Defeat and Death of *Curio*, whom he had ſent againſt *Varus*, *Pompey*'s Lieutenant in *Africk*.

Dic. lxxi. *U. C.* 706.

V. *Pompey*

V. *Pompey*, after his Departure from *Italy* into *Epirus* and *Greece*, had made all poſſible Preparations for Reſiſtance, drawing over all the *Eaſt* to his Intereſt; and during the time of *Cæſar*'s being at *Rome*, and in *Spain*, had gather'd together very powerful Armies both by Sea and Land. His Land Forces conſiſted of 9 *Italian* Legions effective, beſides the two which *Scipio*, his Brother-in-Law, brought him; and the Auxiliaries from the *Eaſtern* Countries of 7000 Horſe, 3000 Archers, and 8 Cohorts of Slingers: Theſe Troops were diſtributed into *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, and over all that Coaſt, to oppoſe the coming down of *Cæſar*. And more than this, he had prepar'd a noble Fleet of 500 large Ships, beſides Gallies, Brigantines, and other leſſer Veſſels; all which were commanded in chief by *Bibulus*, who executed the Office of Admiral: Beſides theſe Forces, *Pompey* had drawn great Sums of Money out of *Aſia* and *Greece*; and to recompence himſelf in ſome meaſure for the loſs of *Spain*, had caus'd *Dolabella* and *Caius Antonius*, who commanded for *Cæſar* on the Coaſt of *Illyricum*, to be attack'd, and with that Succeſs, that the former was driven out, and the latter taken. Theſe Advantages, which daily kept up the Reputation of *Pompey*'s Party, ſtill engag'd more Perſons of Conſideration to come and join themſelves with him, ſo that he found he had in his Camp above 200 Senators, whereof he compos'd a Body, and they aſſembled themſelves in the Form of a *Senate*. With theſe *M. Brutus* had join'd himſelf, not for any Reſpect to *Pompey*, whom he hated; but that ſevere Vertue, of which he made Profeſſion, and the Example of his Uncle, and Father-in-law *Cato*, had engag'd him in that Party, which he thought had the moſt Juſtice on its ſide. In one of their Aſſemblies, by the politick Advice of *Cato*, it was determin'd, That no *Roman* Citizen ſhould be put to Death out of Battel, and that no Town ſubject to the *Roman* Empire ſhou'd be plunder'd. In effect, this laudable Decree drew the good Wiſhes of the People upon the Honourable

nourable Authors of it, and gain'd the Reputation of great Juſtice and Humanity to their Deſigns, and likewiſe was the Occaſion that the Fortune of *Cæſar* hung for a long time doubtful, and was afterwards made uſe of to juſtify his Death.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages on *Cæſar*'s ſide, he proceeded with an uncommon Vigour, and undaunted Courage, and rendevouzing at *Brunduſium*, he, without any delay, ſhipp'd off 5 of his 12 Legions, which amounted to no more than 20000 Foot and 6000 Horſe at this time; the reſt were oblig'd to ſtay behind for want of Shipping. *Cæſar* very much incourag'd his Men, telling 'em what glorious Actions they were going to undertake; and in ſpight of the Rigour of the Seaſon, upon the 4*th* of *Jan.* he weigh'd Anchor. This much ſurpriz'd the Officers of *Pompey's* Fleet, to find him venture ſo boldly thro' the Dangers both of the Weather and their Navies. But *Cæſar* tim'd it ſo well, that he made his Paſſage in one Day, and landed his Men at a Place call'd *Pharſalus*, not daring to venture into any known Port, which he believ'd to be poſſeſs'd by the Enemy. Having once got to Land, he ſent back all the Ships to tranſport the reſt of his Legions under the Command of *Calinus*; but in their Paſſage 30 of 'em fell into the Hands of *Bibulus*, *Pompey*'s Admiral, who, ſenſible of his former Neglect, in a great Paſſion, ſet 'em all on Fire, deſtroying both Owners and Seamen, hoping by this Example to terrify the reſt; and for the future he took more than ordinary Care in guarding the Coaſts. In the mean time *Cæſar* took Poſſeſſion of *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, which, at the ſight of his Troops, ſurrender'd themſelves; by which means he cut off all Communication of Land from *Bibulus* as long as he ſtaid to intercept his Fleet. *Cæſar* ſtill took care to juſtify his Actions, and for that reaſon he ſent *Rufus*, whom he had twice taken Priſoner, to *Pompey*, once more to offer a Treaty, and to refer all to the Senate and People of *Rome*; which prov'd of no effect, for the People of *Rome* were too much of *Cæſar*'s Party to be truſted by *Pompey*.

Pompey

Pompey was now in *Macedonia*, where *Rufus* join'd him, and fearing leſt *Cæſar* ſhould become Maſter of *Dyrrachium*, where all his Ammunition lay, he march'd with his whole Army to ſave the Place. Upon his Arrival at that City, the Lazineſs and Deſertion of many of his new-rais'd Troops, made him cauſe all his Soldiers to ſwear, *That they would never abandon their General, but follow him through all his Fortunes*; which Oath was likewiſe taken by all the Officers. He encamp'd by the River *Apſus*, and *Cæſar* had poſted his Army not far off, on the other Side of the River, to cover *Apollonia*; and both remain'd in this manner for ſome time, impatiently expecting the Succours that were to come up. But the Abſence of *Cæſar*'s Legions at *Brunduſium* was a ſevere Vexation to him, whoſe Paſſage was chiefly obſtructed by *Bibulus* at Sea; and *Bibulus* himſelf was in as ill a Condition, by being hinder'd of the Conveniencies of Land by *Cæſar*'s Troops. At laſt *Bibulus* dying of a Sickneſs at Sea, and leaving no Commander in Chief to ſucceed him, much leſs Care was taken than before. *Cæſar* was ſenſible of this favourable Opportunity, but was almoſt deſpairing that his Troops were not arriv'd as ſoon as he expected 'em, for he had written ſeveral times. At laſt, his great Impatience drove him upon an Action, which nothing cou'd excuſe but the extraordinary Confidence he always had in his good Fortune, which was this: He diſguis'd himſelf in the Habit of a Slave, and with all imaginable Secrecy, put himſelf on board a Fiſher-man's Bark, at the Mouth of the River *Apſus*, with a deſign to paſs to *Brunduſium*, where his Forces lay. They row'd off in the beginning of the Night; but a ſtiff Gale of Wind at the Mouth of the River, made the Water very rough, and the Maſter and Rowers made ſeveral Attempts to get out to Sea; but the Winds increaſing, he order'd 'em to deſiſt. *Cæſar* finding his Deſign like to be fruitleſs, on a ſudden diſcover'd himſelf; *Fear nothing*, ſaith he, *for thou carrieſt* Cæſar *and all his Fortune*: The Mariners

Mariners, encourag'd by the Preſence of ſo great a Man, made freſh Endeavours, and got into the Sea, but the Waves ran ſo high, that they were at laſt forc'd to return to Land. *Cæſar*'s Soldiers, at his Arrival, ran to him in great Multitudes, and told with a great Tenderneſs and Affection, *That he had reflected upon their Courages, by going to ſeek out new Forces, when they were ſure to conquer without, whilſt he was pleas'd to head 'em.*

In a ſhort time after, *Cæſar* receiv'd the good News of the ſafe Arrival of moſt of his Troops under the Command of *Mark Anthony* and *Calenus*, at *Apollonia*, which conſiſted of 3 Veteran Legions, one new rais'd, and 800 Horſe. They were cloſely purſu'd by *Caponius*, Admiral of the *Rhodian* Squadron, 16 of whoſe Veſſels periſh'd by the ſudden running of the Wind, and the badneſs of the Weather. But two of *Cæſar*'s Ships behind there were taken by the Enemy, and the Soldiers of one put to the Sword; but thoſe of the other being old Soldiers, by bravely defending themſelves, eſcap'd. The nigh diſtance of *Cæſar*'s and *Pompey*'s Armies, had occaſion'd ſeveral Parleys as well as Skirmiſhes; and here the laſt Propoſitions of Accommodation were made. *Pompey* proteſted, *That he wou'd never endure that the World ſhould ſay, that his Life and Return was a Favour beſtow'd upon him by* Cæſar; and *Labienus* cry'd out, *That nothing cou'd make a Compoſition but* Cæſar's *Head.* Theſe Treaties therefore being ſucceſsleſs, *Cæſar* decamp'd to join *Anthony*, and *Pompey* did the like to hinder his Deſign. He had no River to paſs as *Cæſar* had, but went and poſted himſelf in a Place which he thought moſt convenient for an Ambuſcade, which he had laid for *Anthony*; but he being advis'd of it by the *Greeks* of the Country, intrench'd himſelf in an advantageous Poſt, where he ſtaid for *Cæſar*, who ſoon after arriv'd; and *Pompey* fearing to be hemm'd in between the two Armies, retreated to *Aſparagus* nigh *Dyrrachium*, leaving *Anthony* the liberty of joining *Cæſar*, which he did the ſame Day. Thus theſe two great Men, *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, at

at the Head of all their Troops, were in a readineſs to diſpute the Empire of the World, and, what was ſtill more valuable to 'em, the Pre-eminence of all that Glory and Renown which they had gain'd by their Arms, one in the *Weſt*, and the other in the *Eaſt*: And as theſe Actions were perhaps more remarkable than any before 'em in the *Roman* Story, eſpecially as to matter of Conduct, ſo it may be convenient to be ſomewhat more particular in relating of 'em.

VI. Great Skill and excellent Management was us'd by both Generals; and *Cæſar* reſolving not to be outbrav'd by the Rival of his Honour, march'd directly towards *Pompey* at *Aſparagus*; and after three Days March he came in ſight of the Enemy's Camp, and fortify'd his own, from whence the next Day he drew out his Troops to offer him Battel. *Pompey* ſtirr'd not, and from that moment *Cæſar* perceiv'd he muſt take other Meaſures. And the next Day he decamp'd to go towards *Dyrrachium*, with deſign either of reducing *Pompey* to ſhut himſelf up in the Town, or to cut off his Paſſage to ſuch a very uſeful Place, which laſt in part ſucceeded. *Pompey* at firſt believ'd that *Cæſar* was oblig'd to draw off for want of Proviſions; but underſtanding his Deſign by Spies and others, the next Day began to march, hoping to prevent *Cæſar* by a ſhorter way than he was forced to take. Which *Cæſar* being aware of, incourag'd his Soldiers what he cou'd, and left 'em but a ſmall part of the Night for Reſt, and arriv'd the next Morning under the Walls of *Dyrrachium*, when they began to diſcover the Van of *Pompey*'s Army, who immediately ſecur'd a Hill call'd *Petra*, which commanded the Sea, under which was a ſmall Shelter for Ships, where few Winds cou'd annoy them. Both Parties intrench'd themſelves in the Poſts they had taken; and *Pompey* caus'd part of his Ships to come under his Camp, and immediately ſent into *Aſia* and other Parts for Proviſions and Ammunitions. *Cæſar* perceiving then that the

the War was like to continue long, and finding the want of Corn, caus'd Magazines to be made in all Parts not in the Enemy's Hands; and notwithstanding all his Diligence and Care, the Disadvantages he labour'd under, caus'd his Army to be but ill furnish-ed at last.

The Inconveniencies that were like to follow from hence, put *Cæsar* upon a new Design: All round *Pompey*'s Camp were certain little Hills high and steep, of which *Cæsar* possess'd himself, and built Towers upon 'em in the nature of Redoubts; then causing Lines of Communication to be drawn from Hill to Hill, and other Works, he endeavour'd to block up *Pompey* by that Circumvallation. This was done chiefly to diminish the mighty Reputation that *Pompey* had gain'd among Foreign Nations, when all the World should know that he was invested by *Cæsar*, and dar'd not hazard a Battel. But *Pompey* resolv'd to run the hazard of any Scandal, rather than a Battel at this time, or to quit either *Dyrrachium* or the Sea; so that both Parties at present were employ'd in Designs and Stratagems. *Cæsar*'s Men daily carry'd on their Works to straiten the Enemy; and those of *Pompey* did the same to enlarge themselves, they having the Advantage as to Numbers; besides, theirs being the innermost Circumvallation, was not extended so far as *Cæsar*'s. Tho' *Pompey* declin'd coming to Battel, yet he severely gall'd *Cæsar*'s Men with his Archers and Slingers, which oblig'd 'em to make certain Blinds with Clothes and Skins for their Defence against the Arrows; and no Day pass'd without some Encounter or other, particularly when *Cæsar*'s ninth Legion was too far advanc'd, *Cæsar* brought it off safely, when *Pompey* before believ'd it impossible. It was very remarkable to find *Cæsar* besieging an Enemy stronger than himself, and supply'd with all Provisions by Sea, while he himself was reduc'd to extreme Necessity for want of Corn.

Yet his Soldiers bore all with admirable Conſtancy, remembring what great Honours they had often gain'd after ſuch Miſeries as theſe. They made uſe of Beans and Barley, and a Root call'd *Chara*, which they mingled with Milk, ſome of which they often threw among *Pompey*'s Soldiers, telling 'em, *That they would rather eat the Barks of Trees, than let* Pompey *eſcape, now they had got him in their Power. Pompey* was extremely ſurpriz'd at this, and ſaid, *That he did not expect to have had wild Beaſts to deal withal.*

But afterwards, when Summer came on, there was a great Change; for *Pompey*'s Army could hardly be kept alive, being moſt diſtreſs'd for want of Water, which *Cæſar* by Dams and other Methods had turn'd another way. On the contrary, *Cæſar*'s Army was in very good Health, well furniſh'd with Water and all Proviſions, except Wheat; of which alſo they had fair Hopes, Harveſt being ſo nigh. After this, follow'd ſeveral Skirmiſhes, and one Night *Pompey* underſtanding *Cæſar* was abſent a little way, attack'd his Works, but was beaten off with conſiderable loſs, and forc'd to retreat into his old Trenches. In this Encounter one *Scæva*, a Centurion, behav'd himſelf with a wonderful Bravery, killing two Officers, after he had been wounded in the Eye, Shoulder and Thigh, as *Appian* relates it, and receiving 230 Shots upon his Buckler. *Cæſar* greatly rewarded him and many others, and encourag'd by this good Succeſs, drew out his Men every Day, and offer'd Battel to *Pompey* within View of his Lines; and tho' *Pompey* drew out alſo in Battalia, yet he always kept his Troops under Defence of his Ramparts, where *Cæſar* did not think fit to attack him. *Cæſar* had now by means of his Officers drawn ſeveral Provinces of *Greece* to his Party, and underſtanding that *Scipio* was come into *Macedonia*, he ſent to him to procure an Accommodation between him and *Pompey*, which he might eaſily bring about, as having the Command of

of an Army. But *Cæſar* finding this not to ſucceed, apply'd himſelf more cloſely to block up *Pompey*, and with the utmoſt Art and Diligence, which brought him to a more dangerous Condition than ever; for his Horſe had conſum'd all their Barley, and likewiſe all the Leaves of the Trees, ſo that there remain'd no more Subſiſtence for 'em, and they were now ſcarce able to go on their Legs for want of Forage; all which gave very great Hopes to *Cæſar* and his Soldiers.

Theſe Troubles and Inconveniencies which encompaſs'd *Pompey*, made him reſolve to break thro', eſpecially after he had been inform'd of the Condition of *Cæſar*'s Fortifications by *Roſcillus* and *Ægus*, two Brothers of conſiderable Note, who deſerted *Cæſar*, and came over to him. To carry on this Deſign, he gave Orders to his Light-harneſs'd Men and Archers to defend themſelves with Bavins and Faggots of Oſiers; then drawing out 60 Cohorts, he put 'em on board his Ships, and attack'd *Cæſar*'s Works by the Sea, which had been too little regarded, and not well compleated. This was done with ſuch Effect, that all the Centurions of the firſt Cohort were cut off except one; and tho' *Cæſar* and his Officers us'd their utmoſt Endeavours to hinder *Pompey*'s Deſigns, yet by means of his great Conduct and Forecaſt, he got out of his Fortifications, and encamp'd in another Place by the Sea, where he had both the Conveniency of all Forage, and of his Shipping beſides. *Cæſar* perceiving the Loſs he had ſuſtain'd, and that the Courſe of the War had not ſucceeded according to his Expectation, reſolv'd to change it, and ſet down cloſe to *Pompey*. In that Enterprize he deſign'd to cut off a Legion of the Enemy which was poſted by a Wood; but this Action brought on a general Battel, where his Men were all entangled within the Intrenchments of the old Camps lately abandon'd; and likewiſe ſo ſurpriz'd

and over-power'd by *Pompey's* Forces, that in ſpite of all *Cæſar's* Endeavours, they fled with great Precipitation and Loſs. The greateſt Part periſh'd in the Trenches, and on the River-Banks, preſs'd to Death by their Fellows. *Pompey* purſu'd his Victory to the very Camp of *Cæſar*, but durſt not attack it, being both ſurpriz'd with the ſuddenneſs of the Victory, and the Fear of Ambuſcades: And this was his great Error in this Caſe; for *Cæſar* himſelf confeſs'd, *That he had been loſt without Redreſs, could* Pompey *have known how to make uſe of the Victory.*

This Advantage gain'd by *Pompey*, caus'd him to be ſaluted *Imperator*; *Labienus* begging the Priſoners, caus'd 'em all to be ſlain; and *Pompey's* Party had ſuch Aſſurance, that not thinking any more of further Engagements and Dangers, they carry'd themſelves as undoubted Conquerors, which they reported in all Places, not conſidering the many Circumſtances that occaſion'd this Succeſs. But *Cæſar* being driven from his former Purpoſes, reſolv'd to change the whole Courſe of the War, and aſſembling his Men together, with a fearleſs Mind ſpake to 'em after this manner: *We have no reaſon to be dejected or diſcourag'd at our late Inſucceſs, but have much more to be thankful to Fortune for the long and uninterrupted Courſe of her Favours, in thoſe many and glorious Conqueſts in* Gaul *and* Britain, *and thoſe happy and more ſucceſsful Victories in* Italy *and* Spain. *If after all theſe renown'd Exploits and noble Acts, one little Diſorder, one Error of Inadvertency, or indeed of Deſtiny it ſelf, has depriv'd us of the Succeſs we might reaſonably have expected, we ought to correct all by the Greatneſs of our Souls, and the Magnanimity of our Courages.* After this Speech, he caſhier'd ſome Enſigns; but he needed to make no other Examples, for his Soldiers offer'd to puniſh themſelves by any Labour or Danger, crying out with great Impatience, *To Arms, let us be reveng'd, or die!* But

Cæſar

Cæsar thought it not convenient to put 'em to the Tryal till their Minds were settled, therefore resolved to make a fair Retreat to *Apollonia*, which he did with that Diligence, that *Pompey* could not overtake him; only some of his Cavalry came up with *Cæsar*'s Reer, but were repuls'd with Loss. *Cæsar* caus'd his Baggage to march before, and his Advantage of being eight Hours before *Pompey*, oblig'd *Pompey* in four Days to give over his Pursuit, and betake himself to other Resolutions.

Cæsar was constrain'd to go to *Apollonia* to dispose of his sick and wounded Men, and to muster his Army; but fearing lest *Pompey* should surprize *Domitius*, one of his Lieutenants now in *Macedonia*, with three Legions he hasten'd with his utmost Diligence to join him. *Pompey* perceiving which way he directed his March, was in as great a Fear for *Scipio*, now in *Thessaly* with the *Syrian* Legions, and immediately set forward. So each General march'd with all the Diligence imaginable, both to secure their Friends and surprize their Enemies. *Pompey* had the Advantage of the shortness of the Way, and *Domitius* very narrowly escap'd him, who coming to *Æginium* upon the Frontiers of *Thessaly*, there happily join'd *Cæsar*. *Cæsar* seeing all his Forces together, march'd directly to *Gomphi*, the first Town in the way from *Epirus* to *Thessaly*. The Inhabitants, who before had promis'd *Cæsar* Obedience, now chang'd their Minds, as many others had done, upon the Report of his being beaten, being perswaded to it by the *Prætors* of *Thessaly* then in the City; and after having sent to *Scipio* and *Pompey* for Succour, caus'd the Gates to be shut against *Cæsar*. *Scipio* was now at *Larissa* in *Thessaly*, and *Pompey* was not arriv'd in this Province, which caus'd *Cæsar* to attack *Gomphi*: He order'd Ladders, great Baskets fill'd with Earth, and Hurdles to be got ready with all speed; and after having represented to his Soldiers the great Advantages

of forcing a Place ſo very rich and well furniſh'd, he caus'd an Aſſault to be made, which was carry'd on and ſupported with ſuch Fury and Bravery, that notwithſtanding the extraordinary Height of the Walls, the Town was taken in a few Hours time. *Cæſar* left it to be plunder'd, and, without ſtopping, march'd his Army to *Metropolis*, which yielded to him upon the ſight of the Priſoners of *Gomphi*: This Conduct of his brought over all the Towns in *Theſſaly* to his Subjection, except *Lariſſa*, which *Scipio* had poſſeſs'd himſelf of.

Pompey arriv'd at *Theſſaly* within a few Days after the taking of *Gomphi*, and advanc'd near *Pharſalia*, whither *Scipio* went and join'd him with his Troops. He was receiv'd by his Son-in-law *Pompey* with great Magnificence, making him Partaker both of his Honour and Authority, and ordering the Trumpets to ſound every Morning at *Scipio*'s Tent as well as his own, *Cæſar* was all the time giving Orders for the Subſiſtence of his Army, and with great Skill making Remarks upon the Inclinations of his Soldiers; and finding them hearty and vigorous, caus'd 'em to advance as far as the Plains of *Pharſalia*, where *Pompey* was now encamp'd. The Approach of theſe two noble Armies, in which were all the choſen *Roman* Legions, whoſe Valour was to decide the Fate of that great Empire; the Hatred and Ambition of the Generals, animated by the Prize as well as the Glory of ſuch a Conqueſt, together with the ſmall Appearance of an Accommodation, made it out of doubt, that nothing but a general Battel cou'd determine this famous Quarrel. *Pompey* being the ſtronger of the two, his Party did not queſtion the Victory, and fell into great Controverſies who ſhould be ſucceſſively Conſuls, who ſhould have *Cæſar*'s Prieſthood, and who ſhould have his Lands, Goods and Moneys, and likewiſe how all Dignities and Magiſtracies ſhould be diſpos'd of, with a great many Things

Things of the like nature. In ſhort, every one ſet his Thoughts upon ſharing the Fruits of the Victory, without conſidering how to gain it. But *Cæſar* was far otherwiſe employ'd, uſing all the Care and Skill imaginable to encourage and perfect his Men: He every Day ſent out Parties, and exercis'd the luſty young Men of his Legions to mingle themſelves among the Cavalry, and contend even with the Horſes for Swiftneſs; ſo tho' *Pompey* much ſurpaſs'd in the Number of Horſe, yet *Cæſar*'s being ſo well and skilfully aſſiſted by theſe light-arm'd Foot, were not at all afraid of 'em, and in one Rencounter they defeated a great Number of 'em.

Cæſar, now finding his Soldiers vigorous and deſirous of Action, drew out of his Camp, and offer'd *Pompey* Battel. But that General had no ſuch Deſign at preſent, either ſuſpecting his Troops, or dreading the loſs of his Reputation; and therefore endeavoured to waſte *Cæſar*'s Army with Fatigue and want of Proviſions. He drew indeed ſometimes out of his Camp, but always kept himſelf under his Trenches, at the Foot of the advanc'd Ground, where he was poſted. *Cæſar* could not attack him in that Place without great Diſadvantage, ſo that he reſolv'd to decamp the next Day, that by frequent Motions he might weary out *Pompey*'s Men, who were not ſo harden'd to Toil and Labour as his. Upon the taking down of the Tents, Advice came that *Pompey*'s Army was in *Battalia*, and far enough from his Trenches. Whereupon *Cæſar* caus'd all his Troops to halt, and with extream Joy told 'em, *That now was the happy and long-wiſh'd for Moment, in which they might gain themſelves immortal Honour.* After which he drew up his Troops in Order, and advanc'd with 'em towards the Place of Battel. *Pompey* on the other ſide was extremely troubled with melancholy Thoughts and preſaging Dreams; but now was no longer able to hold out againſt the Importunities and Murmurings

murings of his Officers, and therefore at present did what he cou'd to encourage 'em, particularly by telling 'em, *That the Strength of his Cavalry, who had promis'd him to attack the Enemy's Flanks before they cou'd discharge one Dart, was alone sufficient to gain the Victory.* *Labienus* seconded his Speech, adding withal, *That this was not the Army that* Cæsar *perform'd such Exploits in* Gaul *and* Germany *with, which were all gone home, kill'd with Diseases, or destroy'd at the last Battel at* Dyrrachium. After which *Labienus* took a solemn Oath not to return into his Camp but with Victory; which Oath *Pompey* himself took, and the rest after him, not imagining that any thing cou'd be spoken vainly by so skilful a Commander.

Pompey's Army consisted of 45000 Foot, according to *Plutarch*, and 7000 Horse; *Cæsar*'s but of 22000 Foot, and not much above 1000 Horse; but *Appian* with some Reason excepts the Auxiliaries, which he supposes to have been great on both sides; tho' all agree that *Pompey*'s Forces were double the Number to *Cæsar*'s. *Pompey* left seven Cohorts to guard his Camp, and drew up all his Men in three Lines, every Legion making three Battalions, and each Battalion was drawn up in half Cohorts, that is, 200 Men in Rank, and eight in File. The *Syrian* Legions were plac'd in the middle, under the Command of *Scipio*; the *Spaniards*, whom *Pompey* most rely'd upon, on the Right, under *Domitius Ænobarbus*; and on the Left was *Pompey* himself, with the two Legions *Cæsar* had restor'd at the beginning of the War, under *Lentulus*. The rest were in the same Order, between *Scipio*'s Legions and the Wings; only the Auxiliary Troops, at least such as fought in Order, compos'd the Body of Reserve; for the others, they were drawn out without Order upon the Left, with the Archers, Slingers, and all the Cavalry, the Right being fortify'd by a River. *Cæsar* left two Cohorts to guard his Camp, and drew up in three Lines also,

alſo, in the ſame Order with *Pompey*; the tenth Legion was upon the Right, and the ninth upon the Left, almoſt join'd to the eighth. The reſt of the Cohorts being drawn up between theſe Legions, were on the Centre, where *Domitius Calvinus* commanded, *Sylla* having the Right Wing, and *Anthony* the Left. *Cæſar* put himſelf at the Head of the tenth Legion, whoſe Valour he had often experienc'd, and with Deſign to be oppoſite to *Pompey*, who intended to fall ſuddenly upon the Flanks of *Cæſar*'s Troops; but he ſoon perceiv'd it by the Order of his Battel, and thereupon he drew ſix Cohorts out of all his Troops, of which he compos'd a Body of Reſerve. He exactly inſtructed them in their Duty; and above all, gave them to underſtand, *That all the Hopes of Victory depended upon their Valour and Conduct alone.* Laſtly, he plac'd his Cavalry ſo as to cover the Right of the tenth Legion, ordering over and above his third Line not to march, till they receiv'd a Signal from him.

Now it was that the Fate of the vaſt Empire of *Rome* was to be decided by the greateſt Generals, the braveſt Officers, and the ſtouteſt Soldiers in the World, each Man almoſt being inſpir'd with the Deſire of conquering Glorioufly, or dying Honourably. As the Armies approach'd, the two Generals went from Rank to Rank encouraging their Soldiers: *Pompey* repreſented to his Men, *The Juſtice and Merit of his Cauſe; the Advantage of their Numbers, ſtrengthen'd by the Aſſiſtance of ſo many Illuſtrious Senators; and the Glory lately obtain'd at the Battel of* Dyrrachium. *Cæſar* was contented only to demonſtrate, *That he had endeavour'd by all poſſible Means to obtain an honourable Peace; and if his Enemies had pleas'd, they might have ſpar'd the Blood of ſo many brave Men.* So ſeeing the Impatience of his Soldiers to fall on, he gave the Signal of Battel; the Word on *Pompey*'s Side was, *Hercules the Invincible*; that on *Cæſar*'s, *Venus the Victorious.*

rious. There was now only ſo much Space between the two Armies, as was juſt ſufficient for the Place of Battel; but *Pompey* order'd his Men to receive the firſt Shock without moving from their Places. *Cæſar*'s Soldiers ſeeing that, like Men of Skill, of their own Accord made a Halt in the midſt of their Carrier; and after taking a little Breath, ran furiouſly upon the Enemy, firſt diſcharging their Javelins, then drawing their Swords, as *Cæſar* had given 'em Orders. *Pompey*'s Men receiv'd the Charge without the leaſt Diſorder, and falling on with their Javelins and Swords, a cruel and bloody Battel enſu'd, which for ſome time ſeem'd equal. Then *Pompey* order'd his Cavalry to charge, which, with the Multitude of Archers and Slingers, ſoon oblig'd *Cæſar*'s Men to give Ground, and got themſelves upon the Flank of his Army, as they firſt deſign'd. Whereupon *Cæſar* immediately order'd the ſix Cohorts to advance, which were his Body of Reſerve, to charge upon the Faces of the Enemy with their Pikes ported. This Contrivance diſorder'd thoſe nice and effeminate Knights; and the fear of ſpoiling their Faces, put 'em into ſuch Confuſion, that upon the rallying of *Cæſar*'s Cavalry, they were all broke in a moment, and the Slingers and Archers being thus abandon'd, were all cut to pieces. *Cæſar* induſtriouſly following that Advantage, advanc'd and charg'd *Pompey*'s Troops upon the Flank; which Charge they ſtood with great Reſolution, and the Allies bravely defended themſelves, when *Cæſar* gave the Signal for his third Line to advance; which freſh Troops pouring in upon *Pompey's*, weary'd out, and attack'd on all ſides, eaſily broke 'em. The Flight began among the Strangers, tho' *Pompey*'s Right-Wing ſtill valiantly maintain'd their ground; but *Cæſar* cauſing his Men to cry out, *Kill the Strangers, but ſave the* Romans, the *Romans* laid down their Arms, and receiv'd Quarter, but a miſerable Slaughter was made

made among the Strangers, who fled with all ſpeed.

Cæſar, now finding the Victory certain, and *Pompey* retreated to his Trenches, cry'd out to his Men, *That they ought to purſue the Victory, and take the Enemies Camp.* It was now Noon-day, and tho' they were weary'd out with the Extremity of the Heat, yet upon ſeeing their General march a-foot at the Head of 'em, they follow'd him with great Reſolution, and falling on with freſh Courage, the Enemy all fled to the Mountains not far off. *Pompey* himſelf was ſo extreamly diſhearten'd and confounded, that here he cou'd perform nothing worthy of his great Courage or Reputation, but getting on Horſe-back, he fled to *Lariſſa*, and from thence to the Sea. *Cæſar* found throughout the Camp much rich Furniture in the Tents, Tables ſpread with fine Linen, and Cupboards cover'd with Plate, which ſufficiently ſhew'd the Luxury and Aſſurance of the Enemy. *Cæſar* earneſtly deſir'd his Soldiers, *Not to amuſe themſelves with Plunder, but to compleat this glorious Victory*; and by means of the great Reſpect they bore him, he prevail'd. So a Trench was immediately thrown up about the Mountain where the Enemy was retreated, who wanting Water, were forc'd to quit it, and retire to *Lariſſa*. *Cæſar* immediately follow'd 'em with four Legions, and after ſix Miles March, drew up in *Battalia*, which caus'd the Enemy to betake themſelves to a high Hill, at the Foot of which ran a River. Now, Night approaching, *Cæſar*'s Men were almoſt ſpent, and ready to faint with the inceſſant Toil of the whole Day; yet ſtill by his obliging Perſuaſions, he prevail'd with 'em to cut off the Conveniency of Water from the Enemy by a Trench. This immediately forc'd 'em to a Capitulation, only ſome Senators made their Eſcape in the dark. The next Morning *Cæſar* order'd all the Enemy to come down into the Plain, and lay down their

their Arms, which they obey'd, and falling upon their Knees before him, in the moſt ſuppliant Poſture, begg'd for Mercy, which he granted 'em with all the Clemency and Kindneſs imaginable, and commanded his Soldiers not to offer 'em the leaſt Incivility, nor plunder their Baggage. Thus *Cæſar*, by his wonderful Skill and Courage, and by the indefatigable Induſtry of his Soldiers, obtain'd the moſt compleat, tho' not the moſt bloody, Victory that ever General in the World did, 15000 of the Enemy being ſlain in Battel, and 24000 ſurrender'd, he himſelf loſing a very inconſiderable Number.

In the mean time, the great *Pompey*, who juſt before had been the glorious Commander of Kings, and all the Greatneſs and Magnificence of *Rome*, now found himſelf reduc'd to ſeek Retreat with ſome few of his Friends in a poor Fiſherman's Cabin: From whence he went aboard another Veſſel, and made forward every Day as much as he could; but the ungrateful Sound of his Defeat ſtill flew before him, which ſo dejected and confounded him, that he could not think of any thing that might be ſerviceable to him. His Aſſurance of Victory made his Defeat moſt intolerable, leaving him naked and diſarm'd of all Relief: And his Misfortunes had ſo infatuated his Mind, that he cou'd not ſo much as uſe thoſe Advantages he had ſtill by Sea, where he had a powerful and victorious Fleet. He ſail'd firſt to *Amphipolis*, then to *Lesbos*, where he took his Wife, who bitterly complain'd *of the ill Deſtiny which ally'd her to* Craſſus *firſt, and afterwards to* Pompey, *only to cauſe the Ruin of two ſuch illuſtrious Families. Pompey* from thence directed his Courſe to *Ægypt*, where King *Ptolemy*, a Minor, was in War with his Siſter *Cleopatra*, whoſe Father *Pompey* had ſettled in his Kingdom. *Pompey* ſent to him, *That in regard of the ancient Hoſpitality and Amity between him and his Father, he deſir'd a Retreat of him in* Alexandria, *and that by his*

his Wealth and Power he would ſupport him, now fallen into the utmoſt Miſery and Calamity. The Meſſage was well enough receiv'd; but ſuch as were Protectors of the King, and Guardians of the Kingdom now in his Minority, either induc'd by the fear of the Armies being gain'd by *Pompey*, many of 'em having been his Soldiers, or elſe deſpiſing the lowneſs of his Fortune, gave a civil Anſwer openly to the Meſſengers, and deſir'd him to come to the King: But ſecretly, plotting among themſelves, ſent *Achillas*, a principal Commander, and of great Boldneſs, together with *Septimius*, a *Roman* Tribune, to kill him. They met him with much Civility; and *Pompey* knowing *Septimius* to have led a Company under him in his War againſt the Pirates, went aboard a little Bark, with a few of his Soldiers, and there was barbarouſly and treacherouſly murther'd by *Achillas* and *Septimius*, his Wife and Friends flying with what Sail they could make. His Head being cut off, they left the Body on the Shore, which was carefully taken up by *Philip* his Freed-Man, who gathering up ſome Pieces of a broken Boat for a Pile, was ſurpriz'd by an old *Roman* Soldier of *Pompey*'s reſiding in *Ægypt*: *Who art thou*, ſaid he, *that art making theſe ſad Preparations for the Great* Pompey's *Funeral? Philip* anſwered him, *One of his Freed-Men. Ah*, reply'd he, *thou ſhalt not have all this Honour to thy ſelf, but ſuffer me to partake in an Action ſo Juſt and Sacred; that among all the Miſeries of my Exile, I may pleaſe my ſelf in having the Honour to touch the Body, and aſſiſt at the Funeral of the Greateſt and Nobleſt Soldier that* Rome *ever produc'd.* After which they gave him the laſt Rites, the Sadneſs of which Ceremony was very peculiar.

Such was the End, and ſuch the Funeral of *Pompey the Great*, who after his eſcaping ſo many memorable and eminent Dangers, where he might have fallen with the Honour agreeable to the Greatneſs of his Character, comes at laſt to loſe his Life miſera-

bly

bly by the Hands of three or four Villains; he being now in the 58th Year of his Age. This happen'd near two Years after his Breach with *Cæsar*, and this cut off the second Head of the *Triumvirate*, and made way for *Cæsar*'s absolute Power soon after; and this happen'd in the 706th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3957. about 12 Years after the beginning of the *Triumvirate*, and 46 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. III.

From the Death of Pompey, *to the Death of* Cæsar; *which finish'd the Power of the First* Triumvirate, *but still kept down the* Consular State.

Containing the Space of nigh Four Years.

U. C 706. THUS successful was *Cæsar* in all his Actions, especially in the last, which Advantage he resolv'd to pursue to the utmost, and knowing that all his Enemies Hopes were lodg'd in the Person of *Pompey*, he follow'd him with his usual Diligence: And as tho' Fortune was resolv'd never to forsake him, *Cassius* retreating into *Asia* with a Fleet of 60 Sail, fell in among *Cæsar*'s little Barks he had provided for his Troops; and tho' he might easily have ruin'd *Cæsar*, yet *Cæsar*'s Presence and Behaviour so over-aw'd him, that he immediately surrender'd himself with all his Navy. *Cæsar* shortly after arriv'd at *Alexandria* with two Legions and 800 Horse, in ten Galleys of *Rhodes*, and a few Ships of *Asia*, ordering the rest of his Men to follow. Tho' these Forces

Forces were very inconſiderable, the Legions being reduc'd to 3200 Men; yet the Confidence he had in his Victories, and the high Reputation they had gain'd him, made him believe that he ſhould meet with Obedience where-ever he could find Men. Upon his landing at *Alexandria*, he was entertain'd with the News of the Death of *Pompey*, whoſe Head was preſented to him, and his Ring which he us'd for his *Signet*. This mournful Spectacle immediately reviv'd the Thoughts of his former Friendſhip, which, with the ſad Imagination of the fatal Misfortunes that attend the greateſt Men, drew Tears from his Eyes, and made him turn away his Face with Horror, keeping the Ring, and ſending away the Meſſenger in a moment. He afterwards, to ſhew his Reſpect to this great Man, caus'd a manificent Sepulchre to be built by the Place where he was murder'd, with a Temple, which he call'd, *The Temple of Wrath.*

Cæſar, upon his Entry into *Alexandria*, having his Arms and Faſces carry'd before him as Conſul, the Multitude were much offended, as they were at his landing, crying out, *That the King's Authority was diminiſh'd*; which occaſion'd *Cæſar* to give Orders for other Legions, which were enroll'd for *Pompey's* Service, to be brought to him out of *Aſia*. In the mean time, as an Argument of his Confidence, he made great Entertainments, and aſſiſted at the Conferences of Philoſophers, who were in great Numbers within that City. But *Photinus* the Eunuch, who came to *Alexandria* with the young King, daily gave him freſh Marks of his Diſſatisfaction, and Intention of making uſe of Arms; till at length the Inſolence of this Perſon, and probably the Reputation of the admirable Beauty of *Cleopatra*, caus'd him to declare publickly, *That the Controverſy between the King and his Siſter belong'd to the Cognizance of the People of* Rome, *and conſequently to himſelf as* Conſul, *and the rather*

rather, becauſe old Ptolemy *by his Will had left his eldeſt Son and Daughter Heirs, and the People of* Rome *Executors.* Upon this Account he intended to make up all Differences between 'em, and ſent to 'em *to have 'em rather to plead their Cauſes before him, than to decide the Controverſy by the Sword.*

At this time *Photinus* had the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom, and he diſdain'd to come to *Cæſar*'s Propoſals, but thereupon procur'd *Achillas* to march directly to *Alexandria* at the Head of 22000 ſtout Men, many of 'em being *Romans.* This forc'd *Cæſar* to take great Care, after he had ſecur'd the King's Perſon, to ſecure himſelf in the Town, not being ſtrong enough to ſtand 'em in the Field, and to cauſe his own Quarters to be ſtrongly fortify'd, where, nevertheleſs, he was ſhortly after attack'd by *Achillas. Cæſar*'s Soldiers bravely repuls'd the Enemy, whoſe chiefeſt Deſign was to get Poſſeſſion of the 50 Ships and 22 Galleys which were in the Haven, which oblig'd *Cæſar*, after a long and doubtful Fight, to poſſeſs himſelf of the *Pharos*, a Tower of wonderful Structure in an Iſlet juſt by, and to ſet Fire to thoſe Veſſels; the Flames whereof being driven by the Wind upon ſome Houſes nigh the Port, burnt 'em down, and among 'em unhappily conſum'd one of the beſt Libraries in the World, belonging to the Kings of *Ægypt*, and conſiſting, as ſome Authors report, of 700000 Volumes. The Port made *Cæſar* Maſter by Sea, tho' he was cloſe ſhut up by Land, and the People of the Town were generally againſt him. In the mean time the young Princeſs *Cleopatra* came to *Cæſar* with much Danger and Difficulty: She embark'd in a Shallop with only *Apollodorus*, one of her Domeſticks, with whom ſhe arriv'd that Night under the Caſtle of *Alexandria*, and there *Apollodorus* binding her up in a Packet of thoſe Neceſſaries which he brought along with him, took her upon his Back, and by that means deceiving the

the *Ægyptian* Guards, carry'd her to *Cæsar*. *Cæsar* was too sensible of the Charms of Beauty, not to be touch'd with those of *Cleopatra*, who was now in the Prime of her Youth, and one of those sprightly Beauties, whereof every Feature had its particular Grace: All which join'd with an admirable Wit, and a Voice so soft and bewitching, that even that Perfection alone, without the help of her Eyes, which were the finest in the World, enslav'd the Hearts of all who heard her; nor cou'd *Cæsar* refuse her his; but at first sight shew'd himself of her *Interest*. *Ptolemy* her Brother quickly found it, and *Cæsar*'s Uneasiness in his Love, made the Inhabitants more turbulent; but he soon quell'd all, and as Consul and Tutor to the young Princess, in a general Assembly he read the Will of *Ptolemy* their Father, and promis'd to put it in Execution.

In the mean time *Photinus* was slain in the City by a Tumult; and *Ganymedes* the Eunuch, under Pretence of assisting *Arsinoe*, King *Ptolemy*'s youngest Sister, and by declaring her *Queen*, had caus'd *Achillas* to be slain, and procur'd himself to be made General of the Army, who assuming the said Authority, continu'd the Siege with much Vigour, reduc'd *Cæsar* to great Extremities, by spoiling all his fresh Water, which he soon remedy'd by his extraordinary Diligence, and digging abundance of Wells. *Cæsar* began now to expect his Succours with Impatience, and being inform'd that the 24th Legion was arriv'd on the Confines of *Africk*, but could not come up by reason of the Winds, he embark'd with his whole Fleet, but with only his Mariners, and set forward to meet it. The Enemy knowing that he was without Soldiers, attack'd him; but he soon worsted 'em, join'd his Legion, and return'd to *Alexandria*. This first Fight astonish'd the *Alexandrians*; nevertheless they refitted, and came against *Cæsar* with a stronger Fleet than before, but were again

routed, and forc'd to fly under the Peer of *Pharos*. *Cæſar* was only Maſter of the Tower, and making an Attack upon the Peer with ſome little Succeſs, was nevertheleſs at laſt repuls'd with ſo much Diſorder, that not being able to hinder his Soldiers from throwing themſelves on board his Ship, he ſav'd himſelf by ſwimming, but with ſo much Preſence of Mind, that he loſt none of his Papers, which he held out of the Water with one Hand, to preſerve 'em from wetting, nor yet his Coat-Armour, which he carry'd in his Teeth.

The *Alexandrians*, finding they were not able by Force to drive out *Cæſar*, had Recourſe to their old Arts of Diſſimulation, demanding their King from him, pretending, *That they were weary of the Command of* Ganymedes *and a Girl, and that they were deſirous of making Peace with the* Romans *under the Authority of their lawful Prince.* *Cæſar* was ſenſible of their perfidious Temper; but finding the War might be more honourable, and not much more dangerous, preſently deliver'd him, who, as he expected, employ'd all his Forces againſt him. But at this time *Mithridates* of *Pergamus*, a Man of noble Birth, of brave Spirit, and great Fidelity to *Cæſar*, came with an Army to *Cæſar*'s Aſſiſtance. He firſt took *Peluſium* by the way, and went to paſs the River *Nile* at a Place call'd *Delta*. Which *Ptolemy* being inform'd of, went in Perſon to oppoſe him; and *Cæſar* did the ſame to aſſiſt *Mithridates*; who, before the Arrival of either, had already beaten *Ptolomy*'s Men in one Rencounter. *Cæſar* alſo defeated others, before he cou'd join *Mithridates*; after which he attack'd a ſmall Fort between his Camp and that of *Ptolemy*, which he took, and the next Day attack'd their very Camp, which he forc'd, and the King endeavouring to ſave himſelf by Water, was drown'd. After this Victory, *Cæſar* met with no Oppoſition in all *Ægypt*, and the City of *Alexandria* was the firſt that ſubmitted;

mitted; ſo he made his Entry as Conqueror, and pardon'd the Citizens in favour of *Cleopatra*, whom he eſtabliſh'd Queen with her younger Brother *Ptolemy*, according to the Intent of their Father's Will, driving out *Arſinoe* and *Ganymedes*. The reſt of the Days he ſtaid in *Ægypt*, he dedicated to the Love he had for this beautiful Princeſs, and the Rejoicings for his Victory. He ſpent much of his time in her Company, and ſome Authors report that he went up the *Nile* with her in a magnificent Galley, and that he had gone as far as *Æthiopia*, if his Army had not refus'd to follow him; but however, he afterwards gave ſuch publick as well as private Teſtimonies of his Affection, that he left her with Child of a Son, whom he call'd *Cæſario*.

II. About the beginning of the *Alexandrian* War, *Cæſar* had great Honours voted him by the Senate at *Rome*, who were now moſt of 'em gather'd together: He was made Conſul for five Years together; *Dictator* for a whole Year, and had the Power of *Tribune* for his Life; and tho' he was out of *Italy*, he took the *Dictatorſhip*, and made *Marc Anthony* his *Maſter of the Horſe*, who as yet had not been *Prætor*. *Anthony* at ſix Months End was forc'd to lay down his Office, and was made Conſul, the *Augurs* crying, it was unlawful for any *Maſter of the Horſe* to hold that Office above ſix Months. But the principal Cauſe was his exerciſing too great an Authority in that Place; which, with the outrageous Carriage of *Trebellius* and *Dolabella*, both *Tribunes*, rais'd great Commotions and Diſturbances in the City. *Cæſar*'s Preſence was now much wanted, and he might have been far ſooner at *Rome*, if *Cleopatra* had not held him faſt by her Charms in *Ægypt*, which Hold ſhe was at laſt forc'd to let go after nine Months, and give way to a greater Violence, which hurry'd him out of her Embraces. This proceeded from

Dic. lxxiii. Annual. *U. C.* 707.

Pharnaces, the Son of the great *Mithridates*, who had formerly been left King of *Bosphorus*, and being ambitious of recovering of his Father's Dominions, he seiz'd *Colchis* with little Trouble, and all *Armenia* in the Absence of *Deiotarus* the Tetrarch of that Kingdom, besides some other Places. *Cæsar* being then employ'd in *Ægypt*, and hoping to reduce him by others, had sent *Domitius Calvinius* against him, with Orders to receive all the Forces that were in *Asia*. *Domitius* join'd with *Deiotarus* and *Ariobarzanes*, march'd strait against *Pharnaces*, then at *Nicopolis*, which Place he had lately taken. *Pharnaces*, affrighted at his Enemy, desir'd a Truce, which *Domitius* contemn'd, and resolving to fight, was considerably worsted in the Engagement.

Pharnaces, elevated with this Success, took in the rest of the Cities of *Pontus*, and march'd into *Bithynia*, hoping to meet with his Father's Fortune; but was stopp'd in his Career by the Revolt of *Asander*, whom he had left in his Kingdom in Chief. He design'd to march against him, but was diverted by the News of *Cæsar*'s coming, who upon these Occasions thought it not honourable to make any longer stay in *Ægypt*. *Pharnaces* was much more terrify'd at the Name of *Cæsar* than his Army, and as he approach'd, sent often to him about a Peace, labouring by all ways to evade the present Danger, alledging Cæsar's *pardoning of* Deiotarus, *who had been a greater Enemy to him than he*, not doubting, but early to renew the War after his Departure. *Cæsar*, sufficiently apprehensive of his Designs, gave good Words to the Messengers the first and second time; but at the third time he objected, among other Crimes, *His Ingratitude to* Pompey *his Benefactor*; adding, *That he receiv'd no less Satisfaction in pardoning of all private Injuries, than in revenging such as had been offer'd to the Republick.* And thereupon using all Expedition, on one and the same Day, he went and fought the

the Enemy, who at first distress'd him with their Horses and Chariots that bore Scythes; but the Veteran Troops obtain'd the Victory in a few Hours; and *Pharnaces* himself flying, and endeavouring to break into *Bosphorus*, was repuls'd and slain by *Asander*; the just End of a Person so rebellious to his Father, and so ungrateful to his Friends. The Victory being so sudden and effectual, made *Cæsar* say, *That* Pompey *was very happy in gaining so much Glory against this Enemy at so easy a rate.* And in writing to *Ancius* at *Rome*, he express'd the Celerity of this Expedition in three Words, *Veni, Vidi, Vici; I came, I view'd, I vanquish'd.* *Cæsar* settled Affairs in these Parts as well as his time wou'd permit him; and after his bestowing the Government of *Armenia* upon *Ariobarzanes*, that of *Judæa* upon *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, and that of *Bosphorus* upon *Mithridates*, he embark'd and went into *Italy* with a Diligence which put all the World into Admiration.

III. Upon *Cæsar*'s Arrival in *Italy*, *Cicero* and a great many others of *Pompey*'s Party went out to him, and were receiv'd by him with the same Civility as if they had always been of his Interest. This courteous and obliging Behaviour so far gain'd him the Favour of the People of *Rome*, that he easily appeas'd the Dissentions there; and the time of his *Dictatorship* being expir'd, he was chosen Consul with *Æmilius Lepidus*. He cou'd not find time to make any long stay at *Rome*, for the Remains of *Pompey*'s Party had rally'd themselves in *Africk* under *Scipio* and *Cato*, and *Juba* King of *Mauritania*, which made him hasten thither, after he had appeas'd some Mutinies among his own Soldiers, who insolently demanded their Rewards and their Discharge; but upon *Cæsar*'s Presence, and his telling 'em, *They shou'd not partake of the Honour of the* African *Expedition*, they submitted, so as to offer themselves

ſelves to be decimated. *Cæſar*, after his uſual Diligence, landed in *Africk* with a ſmall Party, but the reſt ſoon after follow'd: He was in ſome Diſtreſs for want of Neceſſaries for a little time, but that he conquer'd with great Conſtancy. After many Movements, and ſeveral Skirmiſhes and ſmaller Battels between both Parties, in which *Cæſar* was ſometimes in great danger, *Cæſar* reſolv'd to come to a deciſive Battel if it were poſſible. In order to this Deſign, he inveſted the City *Tapſus*, ſuppoſing that *Scipio* wou'd attempt to relieve it, in which he was not miſtaken; for *Scipio* joining with King *Juba*, and encamping near *Cæſar*, they ſhortly after came to a general Battel, in which *Cæſar* gave a final Defeat to all the Enemy's Forces, with little or no Loſs on his ſide, and became Maſter of all their Bag and Baggage. *Tapſus*, *Adrumentum*, and *Zama*, immediately ſurrender'd; *Cato* fled to *Utica*, and *Juba* and *Petreius* kill'd one another in Deſpair, and all *Juba*'s Kingdom ſubmitted to the Government of *Rome*. *Sitius*, one of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants, ſhortly after encounter'd *Afranius* and *Sylla*, as they were going for *Spain*, defeated their Forces, and took 'em Priſoners; after which they were both kill'd in a Mutiny. *Scipio* himſelf and ſeveral Senators being embark'd for *Spain*, were driven upon *Sitius*'s Fleet, where they all were ſlain by their Enemies or by themſelves.

Of the Generals of *Pompey*'s Party, *Cato* was only remaining, who had retreated to *Utica*, where he had eſtabliſh'd a kind of Senate, compos'd of 300 *Romans*. He was at firſt reſolv'd to hold out the Town; but finding the Minds of the Inhabitants much divided, he quitted that Deſign for another more agreeable to his Character and Philoſophical Opinions. He deſir'd his Friends, ſome to ſave themſelves by Sea, and others to rely upon *Cæſar*'s Goodneſs, and embracing them with a more than ordinary Tenderneſs that Night, his Diſcourſes to 'em

'em being about Morality, where he defended that Maxim, *That the Virtuous were only happy and free, but wicked Men were always miſerable and Slaves.* His Sons, ſuſpecting his Intentions, at Supper took his Sword from him, which he miſs'd not when he aroſe, but lying down in his Bed, read *Plato*'s Dialogue call'd *Phædo*, concerning the Immortality of the Soul. Then miſſing his Sword, he was very angry and diſſatisfy'd till it was brought him; then feeling the Point, he laid it by him, ſaying, *I am Maſter of my ſelf.* He then took his Book again, which he had read twice over, and fell into a ſound Sleep; but juſt as Day began to appear, he took his Sword and thruſt himſelf through the Breaſt; which not diſpatching him, he ſtaggering, fell upon his Bed, and at the ſame time threw down a Table upon which he had drawn ſome Geometrical Figures. At the Noiſe of this his Slaves came in, and with their Cries alſo brought his Sons and Friends, who found him weltring in his Blood, and his Bowels out of his Body: His Eyes were yet open, which caus'd his Phyſician to eaſe him upon his Bed; then putting up his Bowels, which were yet unhurt, he clos'd up the Wound. Upon this, *Cato* recover'd his Spirits, and being tranſported with Fury, thruſt back the Phyſician, rent open his Wound again, and tearing his Bowels, expir'd before their Eyes. Thus dy'd *Cato*, a Perſon of ſingular Juſtice, Severity and Magnanimity; upon the hearing of whoſe Death, *Cæſar* ſaid, Cato *has envy'd me the Glory of ſaving his Life; and therefore do I envy his Death*; deſigning, as was thought, to have conquer'd him by his Kindneſs and Generoſity: His Death compleatly finiſh'd *Cæſar*'s War in *Africk*.

Africk being entirely reduc'd to Subjection, *Cæſar* return'd to *Rome* in Triumph for all his Victories; and firſt to obtain the Favour of the People, he gave 'em to underſtand, *That his laſt Victory had gain'd*

the Commonwealth of Rome *a Country ſo large and rich, that it cou'd yearly furniſh the City with* 200000 *Buſhels of Corn, and* 3000000 *Pounds of Oil.* After this, he order'd the Preparations for his Triumph upon four ſucceſſive Days; the firſt deſign'd for the Triumph over *Gaul*, ſhew'd in a great many Tables the Names of 300 Nations and 800 Cities, conquer'd by the Death of a Million of Foes, whom he had defeated in ſeveral Battels. The ſecond Triumph was over *Ægypt*. The third ſhew'd the Defeat of *Pharnaces* in *Aſia*. And the fourth that of King *Juba* in *Africk*; which Triumphs were over Foreigners, not *Romans*. Here was the utmoſt Shew of Magnificence, and all the *Roman* Soldiers follow'd their great General, crown'd with Laurels, and in that Equipage he went to the *Capitol*, the Steps whereof he mounted upon his Knees, forty Elephants being rang'd on each ſide, carrying great Candleſticks, fill'd with Flambeaus. The Silver Veſſels, and Statues, of Goldſmiths Work, which were us'd in theſe Triumphs, amounted to 65000 Talents, which is above twelve Millions of our Money, beſides 1822 Crowns of Gold, weighing 15033 *lb.* which were Preſents that the Princes and Cities had made him after his Victories, according to the Cuſtoms of thoſe Times. Out of theſe Sums he paid his Soldiers, beſides what he had promis'd 'em in the beginning of the Civil Wars. To every one 150 Pounds of our Money, as much more to the Centurions, and twice as much as that to the Tribunes and Commanders of the Cavalry; and for their Retreat after the Wars, he gave 'em Inheritances in ſeveral Places ſeparated from *Italy*. The People alſo were ſenſible of his Bounty; for he diſtributed to each particular Perſon ten Buſhels of Corn, and ten Pounds of Oil, and added 100 *Denarii* to the 300 he had promis'd 'em before. After this he nobly entertain'd the whole People at 22000 ſeveral Tables,

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and that nothing might be wanting to the Pomp and Magnificence of theſe Feaſts, he caus'd 2000 Gladiators to fight before the People, and make Repreſentations of Sea and Land-Fights of four or five thouſand Men of a Side, beſides all ſorts of Plays and Shows. Theſe Entertainments drew ſo many People to *Rome*, that the greateſt Part of them were forc'd to lie in the open Air, and a great many were ſtifled in the Preſs; among the reſt, two Senators.

Many great Honours were after this conferr'd upon *Cæſar*, among which was that of *Maſter of Manners*, as if the Name of *Cenſor* was too mean, for three Years; all joining to ſhew their great Forwardneſs in preferring him, ſome out of Love and Reſpect, others out of Fear and Flattery: And indeed many began to dread the Severities of *Marius* and *Sylla*; but *Cæſar*'s extraordinary Civility to both Parties, and the Greatneſs of his Nature, in a great meaſure freed 'em from any ſuch Fears. He began now to ſettle the Commonwealth, and make many new Laws; He committed the Power of Judicature to the *Senators* and *Equites* alone; and both by Laws and his own Care, he reſtrain'd the profuſe way of living of rich Perſons. And becauſe the City was manifeſtly exhauſted, by reaſon of Multitudes quitting it, he propos'd Rewards to all ſuch as had many Children. Then conſidering that by his long Command in *Gaul*, he himſelf had Opportunity of eſtabliſhing an extraordinary Power, by a Law he ordain'd, That no *Prætor* ſhould command above a Year in his Province, nor a *Conſul* above two Years after the expiring of his Office. Moreover, to ſhew that nothing ſhould eſcape his Care, he undertook to regulate the *Roman* Year, which was at this time very much confounded; and tho' *Numa*, the ſecond King of *Rome*, had beſtow'd much Pains about it, yet ſtill the Reckoning according

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ing to Lunar Months, and the odd eleven Days and a quarter, caus'd a great many Inconveniencies. Whereupon *Cæsar*, after his consulting the most able Astronomers, being also himself very well instructed in that Science, whereof he had written, regulated the Year according to the Course of the Sun, allotting to each Year 365 Days, and adding one Day more every fourth Year, which was called the *Bissextile*; and this is the Method which we to this Day follow, and goes still by the Name of the *Julian Account* and the *Old Stile*, whereas the *New Stile* is call'd the *Gregorian Account*. In this same Year flourish'd *Catullus* the Poet, one of the principal *Epigrammatists* of all the *Romans*.

IV. While *Cæsar* was thus employ'd in the Affairs of the Commonwealth, the two Sons of *Pompey* had fortify'd themselves in *Spain*; and as the People still passionately affected the Memory of their Father, they soon gather'd together a powerful Army; they had also very good Officers, and among the rest *Labienus*, which oblig'd *Cæsar* to go in Person to oppose their Proceedings; tho' not without some Unwillingness, by reason that his beloved Mistress *Cleopatra* was now at *Rome*. He was now just made Consul again, and likewise *Dictator* for another Year; and *Lepidus*, who was Consul with him, he chose for his *Master of the Horse*. *Cæsar* proceeded in his Expedition with his wonted Vigour and Celerity, and arriv'd in *Spain* before the Enemy so much as imagin'd it. *Cneius*, the eldest of the two *Pompeys*, had laid Siege to the City of *Ulla*, and *Sextus* the younger Brother was in *Corduba*, with a strong Garrison. *Cæsar*, to raise the Siege, and to give some Jealousy to *Cneius*, advanc'd towards *Corduba*, which occasion'd him to raise the Siege before *Ulla*, and come and oppose *Cæsar*; but *Cæsar* finding he cou'd not draw him to a Battel, went and invested *Attegna*,

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na, a Place of great Importance, and full of Provisions. This Siege lasted some considerable time, and the *Pompeys* endeavour'd to throw in Succours into the Town, but in vain, till at last it was constrain'd to capitulate. *Cæsar* being Master of this, several other Places submitted to him; and the *Pompeys* marching up and down, and fearing the rest should revolt, were resolv'd to come to a general Battel; their Army being now encamp'd in the Plains of *Munda*, and *Cæsar*'s not far distant.

Both Generals were equally impatient to come to an Engagement, so that *Cneius* drew up his Men by Break of Day, well posting himself upon a Hill, and the Exactness of their Order shew'd his Troops to great Advantage, especially his Cavalry, who were very well arm'd. *Cæsar* with great Art drew up his Troops likewise, and after he had advanc'd a little distance from his Trenches, made a Halt, expecting the Enemy to come down from the Hill. This Delay made *Cæsar*'s Soldiers begin to murmur, and so encourag'd those of *Cneius*, that they advanced upon the declining Part of the Hill; so both sides gave a Shout, and the Battel began. This was extraordinary sharp and dreadful on both sides, those on *Cæsar*'s side were extreamly incited by the Hopes of putting an end to all their Labours by this Battel; and those on *Pompey*'s side fought out of Necessity and Desperation, most of 'em expecting no Pardon, as having their Lives formerly given 'em, when they had been overthrown with *Afranius* and *Petreius*. The first Shock was manag'd on both sides with so much Courage, that *Cæsar*'s Men, who had been almost always us'd to conquer, found here a stop put to their Fierceness: The Battel continu'd for many Hours very obstinate, and *Cæsar* was never in so great Danger as now; he threw himself several times with great Rage and Fury amongst the midst of the Enemy, crying out to his Men, and ask-

asking him, *If they were not asham'd to deliver him into the Hands of Boys?* So well did he encourage them by his Speeches, but much more by a thousand brave and noble Actions which he perform'd himself; that at last, with much difficulty, and a long time, he overthrew the Enemy, and kill'd 30000 upon the Spot. This Battel was so fierce and dangerous, that *Cæsar* often said, *That at all other Places he fought for his Glory, but at* Munda *for his Life.*

All his Ensigns were taken, and *Varus* and *Labienus* slain in the Battel. *Cneius*, with 150 Horse, escap'd to *Carteia*, from whence, thinking to save himself by Sea, he was forc'd by *Didius*, *Cæsar*'s Lieutenant, to return to Land, and being besieg'd within a Tower, was attack'd so vigorously, that he was forsaken by his People, and slain in a Cave where he had hid himself. But his Brother *Sextus* escaping from *Corduba*, so well conceal'd himself, that *Cæsar* could not find him. All *Spain* immediately submitted to *Cæsar*, and he exacted great Contributions from all the Enemies Cities, under Pretence of punishing their Rebellion. After which he return'd to *Rome* with great Joy and Satisfaction, that he had at last brought under Submission that Commonwealth which gave Laws to the greatest Part of the World. He enter'd *Rome* in Triumph; but this Triumph was by no means attended with any joyful Acclamations of the People, who were much concern'd to see the Memory of their belov'd *Pompey* insulted over, and the Race almost extirpated of one of the greatest Men in *Rome*. But *Cæsar* did it the rather upon the account of bringing the *Roman* Dominions into Peace and Subjection, and the perfect Finishing the Civil War; which tho' it continu'd not much above Four Years, had been so destructive to the *Roman* People, that at a *Census* just before *Cæsar*'s last Expedition, there were found but one hundred and fifty thousand Heads of Families in *Rome*,

Rome, whereas in that *Luſtrum* before, there were three hundred and twenty thouſand.

V. *Cæſar* had now rais'd himſelf far above all *Romans*, and above all Mortals in that Age, by his wonderful Acts, having ſubdu'd and conquer'd the beſt Parts of the World, in almoſt as ſhort a time as others could reaſonably travel thoſe Countries. And now the Senate again began to confer new Honours upon him, and thoſe greater than ever: They made him *Dictator in perpetuum*, Conſul for ten Years, ſubjected all Magiſtrates, even *Plebeian*, to his Power, and ordain'd that he alone ſhou'd command the Armies, and raiſe Money; which made him Sovereign Prince or King in effect. Among other Titles, he had that of *Deliverer* given him, and ſo was enter'd in the *Faſti*, and a Temple erected to *Liberty*; but above all, that of *Imperator*; not in that Senſe as Generals were wont to have it given 'em by their Soldiers after ſome worthy Exploit; but as it ſignify'd the greateſt Authority in the Commonwealth. From this *Julius* was deriv'd the Name of *Imperator* or *Emperor*, as likewiſe that of *Cæſar* to his Succeſſors; and this was the firſt beginning of the *Imperial* State of *Rome*, tho' it was not perfectly ſettled till ſome Years after. *Cæſar* was likewiſe made *Cenſor* for his Life-time, ſo that now moſt of the Magiſtracies ſeem'd to center in him. As for the Conſulſhip, he diveſted himſelf of that for a certain time, and created *Fabius* and *Trebonius* Conſuls for the reſt of the Year, of whom it happen'd that *Fabius* dy'd the laſt Day of his Magiſtracy, and *Cæſar* ſubſtituted *Canivius* for the remaining Hours; whereupon *Cicero* jeſtingly writ in one of his Epiſtles, *That during the Conſulſhip of* Canivius, *not a Man din'd; yet no Harm was committed in that time, for he was wonderfully vigilant, and ne'er ſlept throughout his whole Conſulſhip.* From this time forward the Conſulſhip grew cheaper,

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Imperator.

cheaper, and few held it a whole Year, eſpecially, when all its Authority and ancient Dignity, was, in a manner ſwallow'd up by the *Imperial* Power ſoon after.

Thus *Cæſar* had order'd the Conſulſhip; but for other Magiſtrates he pretended he would not concern himſelf with 'em, but leave 'em to the People to be nam'd, according to the ancient Cuſtom; but it prov'd only a Pretence, for he made them himſelf, and ſent 'em into the Provinces without the ancient way of *Sortition*. In other Magiſtrates the ſame Number was obſerv'd; only the *Prætors*, upon the account of the Largeneſs of the *Roman* Dominions, were increaſed to ſixteen, and the *Quæſtors* to forty. Beſides, he had no other way to gratify thoſe to whom he had made large Promiſes, and this caus'd him to admit many into the Senate without Diſtinction, whether the Perſon was a *Soldier* or a *Libertine* by Original; ſo that the Number of the Senate, by this means, aroſe to nine hundred. Many he alſo brought into the Rank of *Patritians*, *Conſulares*, and of thoſe who had born other Offices; which became a Cuſtom to thoſe who were afterwards *Emperors*. To his Friends he gave much away both in Money and Lands, which was very pleaſing to them who made their Deſigns; but others took it very heinouſly, and teſtify'd their Reſentments either by Words or Libels. The Management of Publick Money was now tranſlated from the *Quæſtors* to the *Ædiles*, and afterwards return'd no more to 'em, but at length was committed to Perſons of *Prætorian* Dignity. Six *Ædiles* were alſo made, of which two were *Patritians*, called *Curules*, and four *Plebeians*.

16 *Prætors.*

40 *Quæſtors.*

900 *Senators.*

6 *Ædiles.*

U. C. 710. For the following Year *Cæſar* enter'd upon the Conſulſhip again with *Anthony*, who was likewiſe his *Maſter of the Horſe*; and now he more chiefly apply'd himſelf to the Buſineſs of the Common-

wealth than ever. He firſt took care to pardon all ſuch as had been in Arms againſt him, and greatly tax'd the Cruelty of *Sylla*, and thereby obtain'd as great a Name for Clemency, as before he had for Valour. Then, to ſhew his generous Temper, he caus'd *Pompey*'s Statues to be ſet up again, to ſhew that he eſteem'd a Great Soul and a Magnanimous Spirit, even in his greateſt Enemy; which occaſion'd *Cicero* to obſerve in his Writing, *That* Cæſar *by reſtoring* Pompey's *Statues, ſecur'd his own.* In this ſecond *Julian* Year, his Collegue *Anthony* procur'd by a Law, that the Month *Quintilis* ſhould, in Honour of his Name, be afterwards call'd *July*; and many other Laws were made. In the mean time, as he was no ways belov'd by thoſe who were greateſt in the Senate; tho' his Ordinances had no other Deſign than the Publick Good, they forbore not to vilifie him by their Railleries. Now, tho' *Cæſar* had Informations of their ſeveral Diſcourſes, he bore it all with ſo great a Moderation, that when ſome other People had yet the Boldneſs to violate his Reputation by Libels, he never ſo much as enquir'd after them. All his Deſigns ſhew'd the Greatneſs of his Soul: He made a Propoſition for adorning of the City of *Rome* with a magnificent Temple conſecrated to *Mars*, and with a Theatre, and likewiſe the building of a new *Curia* or *Pariſh* to be call'd *Julia.* He rebuilt *Carthage* and *Corinth*, ſending Colonies to both Cities: He undertook to level ſeveral Mountains in *Italy*, to drain the *Pontine* Marſhes near *Rome*, and to empty the Lakes, Works of prodigious Charge; and likewiſe deſign'd to dig through the *Iſthmus* of *Peloponneſus* by *Corinth.* After theſe he deſign'd an Expedition againſt the *Parthians*, to revenge the Death of *Craſſus*, and they being conquer'd, to enter thro' *Hyrcania*, along the Banks of the *Caſpian Sea* into *Scythia*, to open himſelf a Way thro' *Germany* into *Gaul*, and ſo return to *Rome*: But all theſe vaſt De-

Deſigns ſoon came to an end, enjoying his Sovereign Authority but five Months.

Cæſar's good Fortune, which had appear'd by ſo many Victories, his Merit and great Abilities, ſupported by the Affection of the People, and the Love of his Soldiers, had now rais'd him to a Degree above all other *Romans*. But as it uſually happens in Commonwealths, where every one valuing himſelf upon his own Merit, looks upon abſolute Command as a Right which he one Day in his turn may pretend to; ſo it was now, for that his extraordinary Advancement daily brought upon him the Jealouſy of the Senators. In the mean time, in an extravagant manner they continually flatter'd his Vanity with new Honours, preferring him in his Life-time in ſome ſort among the Gods, and declaring his Perſon ſacred and inviolable. They gave him the Title of *Father of his Country*, ſtamp'd Money with his Image, order'd Publick Sacrifices on his Birth-day, and his Statue to be ſet up in all Cities, and in all the Temples at *Rome*. Some Authors have reported, that he procur'd theſe Honours by his Authority; others, that they were freely beſtow'd upon him. However, his accepting of all that was offer'd him, caus'd him much Hatred from many; which was diſcover'd more plainly one Day, when the Senate had decreed him ſome new Honours, and came all in a Body to the Temple of *Venus*, where he was, to acquaint him with their Decree; and he, whether out of a Miſtake or Deſign, roſe not up, but receiv'd 'em ſitting; which Neglect much offended the Senators, and caus'd 'em to talk very freely and publickly about it, particularly ſaying, *That he plainly affected the Title of King.* He had indeed the Power in effect, but only wanted the Name, which was odious to the *Romans*. *Cæſar*, who well knew the Effects of that Averſion, very cautiouſly defended himſelf from that Odium; and

on

one Day, when ſome People call'd him *Lord* and *King*, he made Anſwer, *That he was* Cæſar. Nevertheleſs, he often let ſome Diſcourſes fall, which much promoted the Belief People had of his Ambition; particularly, *That a Republick was nothing but a meer Name and Notion, and that* Sylla *had diſcover'd great Ignorance in laying down the Office of* Dictator.

Cæſar ſhortly after gave a freſh occaſion of Suſpicion to the People, by his diſplacing the *Tribunes* for impriſoning ſome Perſons who had put Diadems upon his Statues. And by another Inſtance ſoon after he ſtill more plainly diſcover'd the Affections of the People, at the Celebration of the Feaſts call'd *Lupercalia*, where he himſelf aſſiſted at the Show, ſeated upon a Tribunal in a Chair of Gold, and his Triumphal Ornaments. *Anthony* paſſing thro' the People, who open'd to make him way, went up to the Tribunal, and preſented a Crown to *Cæſar*; ſome clapp'd their Hands as if they approv'd of it; but when *Cæſar* put the Crown back, there was a general Applauſe: *Anthony* offer'd it a ſecond time, but ſtill with as little Marks of Satisfaction from the People: *Cæſar* again refus'd it, which was follow'd with loud Acclamations on all ſides. *Cæſar*, who had laid this Deſign before, now plainly underſtood their Sentiments, and thereupon riſing, commanded the Crown to be carry'd to the *Capitol*; nevertheleſs he was ſo concern'd, and ſo little Maſter of his Diſorder, that he ſaid that Night to his Friends, *That he wou'd freely offer his Throat to any Man that would cut it.* And tho' he had a thouſand Teſtimonies of the Hatred he lay under, he ſo abandon'd himſelf to his Deſigns, that from this moment he neglected all manner of Means of ſecuring himſelf againſt his Enemies. When he was adviſ'd by ſome not to truſt *Brutus* too far, he open'd his Breaſt, ſaying, *Do you believe that* Brutus *cares for ſuch poor Pillage as this?* He was ſometimes heard to ſay, *That he had rather die once by*

Treaſon, than to be ſo miſerable as always to live in fear of it. And at another time, *That the Republick had more Intereſt in his Preſervation than himſelf; that he had gain'd Glory and Power enough; but after his Death, the Commonwealth wou'd be more harraſs'd with Civil Wars than ever it had been.* And one Day being at Supper with *Lepidus*, as his Friends diſputed among themſelves what Death was eaſieſt, he reply'd to 'em, *That which is moſt ſudden, and leaſt foreſeen.* He diſbanded his Company of *Spaniſh* Guards, and contented himſelf with the Protection of his Friends; which Proceeding of his much facilitated an Enterprize upon his Life ſoon after.

The Deſign upon *Cæſar*'s Life was carry'd on with extraordinary Caution and Secrefy, tho' above threeſcore Senators enter'd into this Conſpiracy, the principal whereof was *Brutus*, whoſe Life *Cæſar* had ſav'd after the Battel of *Pharſalia*, and *Caſſius*, both *Prætors* at this time: The Name of *Brutus* had been famous in *Rome* ever ſince *Brutus* the firſt Conſul, under the Foot of whoſe Statue was found written, *Wou'd to Heaven thou wert alive*; and certain Billets were thrown into the *Prætor*'s Tribunal, in theſe Words, Brutus, *thou art aſleep, and not a true* Brutus. *Caſſius* was Author of moſt of theſe things, and he hated *Cæſar* upon ſeveral Accounts, particularly for his naming *Brutus* the eldeſt *Prætor*, when he was above him in Age, and for his hindring him from giving a publick Show to the People. His Behaviour towards *Cæſar* gave him ſufficient Reaſons to ſuſpect him; and when his Friends advis'd him to beware of *Anthony* and *Dolabella*, he told 'em, *That it was not thoſe perfum'd and plump Sparks that he diſtruſted, but thoſe pale and meagre Gentlemen.* Nevertheleſs he ſtill prepar'd for his Expedition againſt the *Parthians*, and caus'd ſixteen Legions to march, and 10000 Horſe for his Paſſage into *Aſia*. He deſign'd to depart four Days after, when the Conſpirators

rators ſpread a Report, That according to the *Sibyll*'s Oracles, the *Parthians* could not be overcome but by a King; and upon this Pretence *Cotta* was to propoſe the giving him that Title to the Senate. *Caſſius* took this Occaſion to go and viſit *Brutus*, demanding of him, *If he wou'd be at the Senate-Houſe when* Cæſar's *Friends were to propoſe the declaring of him King?* *Brutus* told him, *That he wou'd be abſent at that time.* *But*, reply'd *Caſſius*, *ſuppoſe you are called thither? Then*, anſwer'd *Brutus*, *I ſhould think it my Duty to ſpeak, oppoſe, yea, and die to, rather than part with the Liberty of* Rome. *Ah*, reply'd *Caſſius*, *what generous* Roman *wou'd ſuffer you to die for his Liberty? You are ignorant*, Brutus, *who you are, if you imagine that thoſe Billets thrown into the Tribunal came from leſs than the moſt Illuſtrious and Braveſt Men of* Rome. *From other* Prætors *they demanded Games, Shows, and Plays; but from you, whoſe very Name is a Terror to Tyrants, they cry for the Ruin and Downfal of Arbitrary Power, being ready to expoſe themſelves to the utmoſt Hazards, in expectation of your auſpicious Aid.* After this Converſation, they parted; but *Brutus* for ſome time after appear'd much diſcompos'd in his Thoughts, which occaſion'd his Wife *Porcia*, being in Bed with him, earneſtly to enquire the Reaſon of his Trouble. *Brutus* fearing ſhe would diſcloſe the Secret if urg'd to it by Torture, *Porcia* immediately wounded her ſelf on the Thigh, and with a Maſculine Courage let him ſee, *That ſhe fear'd no Torments, nor cou'd act any thing below* Cato's *Daughter*; by which means ſhe learn'd the whole Deſign, and became one of the Conſpiracy. The Name of *Brutus*, whoſe Perſon was much eſteem'd, engag'd a great many in the Conſpiracy; ſo they reſolv'd to put their Deſign in execution upon the very *Ides* of *March*, and in the Hall of the Senate.

A great many Prodigies and Dreams foretold this Misfortune to *Cæſar*; and *Spurina*, a famous *Augur*,

told

told him, *That great Dangers threaten'd him upon the* Ides *of* March. He dream'd the ſame Night, that he was carry'd above the Clouds, and that he ſhook Hands with *Jove*; and his Wife *Calpurnia* alſo dream'd, that her Husband was aſſaſſinated in her Arms, the Doors of the Chamber opening at the ſame time of their own accord with much Noiſe. This laſt Accident ſomewhat confounded him, and his Wife by her Prayers and Tears prevail'd ſo, that he would not go abroad that Day. But another *Brutus*, call'd *Decimus*, who was one of the Conſpirators, tho' of the Number of his intimate Friends, caus'd him to change his Reſolution, telling him, *He was much expected at the Senate, and it wou'd be a great Shame for him not to venture out of doors, but when it ſhould pleaſe* Calpurnia *to dream favourably:* So *Decimus* carry'd him almoſt by force out of his Lodgings; and as if every thing ſeem'd to contribute to his Deſtruction, a Slave, who came to give him Advice of the Conſpiracy, cou'd not get up to him, by reaſon of the Croud of People that ſurrounded him. *Artimedorus*, his Hoſt and Friend, having given him a Letter to the ſame purpoſe, he mingled it, without reading of it, among other Papers that were given him: And *Lena*, who was one of the Conſpirators, entertaining him a conſiderable time in private as he came out of his Litter, the others, who believ'd themſelves diſcover'd, thought already of killing themſelves with the Daggers which they had under their Robes, when *Lena* quitting *Cæſar*, and kiſſing his Hand, gave them to underſtand, that he thank'd him for ſome Favour which he came to obtain.

The Aſſembly of the Senate was at this time held in a Place which *Pompey* had built for that purpoſe, and from thence was call'd the *Court* or *Hall* of *Pompey*, where was to be ſeen his Statue in Marble, rais'd upon a Pedeſtal. *Cæſar*, as he was entring, met *Spu-*

rina,

rina, and ſmiling, told him, *The* Ides *of* March *were come: Yes*, reply'd the *Augur*, *but they are not paſt.* As ſoon as he had taken his Place, the Conſpirators mov'd towards him under Pretence of ſaluting him, and *Tullius Cymber* approach'd to ask Pardon for his Brother who was then in Exile. *Cæſar* deferr'd the Matter, and put back *Cymber*, who preſs'd upon him ſo far as to take hold on both ſides of his Robe; and when *Cæſar* cry'd out, *That this was Violence*, *Caſca*, who ſtood behind him, gave him the firſt Stab with a Poniard nigh the Shoulder; but the Weapon glancing, the Wound was not mortal. *Cæſar* ſtruck *Caſca* through the Arm with his Dagger, crying out, *Vile Traitor, what do you mean? Caſca*, on the other ſide, call'd his Brother, and *Cæſar* would have rais'd himſelf, but he receiv'd a mortal Wound in his Breaſt; and all the Conſpirators charg'd upon him together with ſo much Fury, that many of 'em were wounded themſelves. He nevertheleſs made great Reſiſtance, ruſhing and leaping among 'em like a Lion, till perceiving *Brutus* with his Dagger in his Hand, he ſtruggled no more, but cry'd, *What, my Son* Brutus, *and thou too?* Then covering his Face with his Robe, and drawing his Skirts down to his Knees, that he might fall decently, he ſunk down at the Foot of *Pompey*'s Statue, having receiv'd Three and twenty Wounds, and the reſt of the Senate looking on with Wonder and Amazement, not being able to aſſiſt him.

Thus fell the Great *Julius Cæſar*, in the 56th Year of his Age, in the Court of *Pompey*, and at the Feet of *Pompey*'s Statue; a Perſon of the greateſt Soul, the moſt magnanimous Spirit, and of the moſt wonderful Accompliſhments and Abilities that *Rome*, or perhaps the World, ever ſaw; whether we conſider him in his Care and Vigilance, in his Valour and Conduct, or in his Knowledge and Learning; all which noble Qualities made him belov'd and reverenc'd by

the People, honour'd and ador'd by his Friends, and esteem'd and admir'd even by his Enemies. And setting aside his Ambition, which was the Fault of the Times as well as his Temper, he was never much, or justly tax'd with any great Vice, but that of Women. His Death put an end to the first *Triumvirate*, or rather the Power occasion'd by the first *Triumvirate*, but did not re-establish the Consular Authority, nor restore the Liberty of the Commonwealth, but occasion'd its Ruin shortly after, with as great Miseries as *Rome* ever suffer'd. It happen'd in the 710*th* Year of the City, *A. M.* 3961. about 16 Years after the beginning of the *Triumvirate*, and 42 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. IV.

From the Death of Cæsar, *to the Defeats of and Deaths of* Brutus *and* Cassius, *by the second* Triumvirate, Octavius, Anthony, *and* Lepidus; *which ruin'd all the* Remains *of the* Commonwealth.

Containing the Space of above Two Years.

U. C. 710. I. UPon the Death of *Cæsar*, so great a Confusion and Disorder happen'd among the Senate and People of *Rome*, that the Conspirators soon perceiv'd that their Fact was not like to meet with the general Approbation which some expected. All the Senators, who were not Accomplices, fled with such haste and Precipitation from the Assembly, that some of 'em were in danger of their Lives as they press'd out

out of doors; and the People, alarm'd at the News, left all their ſeveral Employments, ran tumultuouſly about all Parts of the City, ſome for Information, ſome for Safety, and others for Plunder. Which Diſturbances caus'd the Conſpirators all to retire to the *Capitol*, to which they were guarded by a conſiderable number of Gladiators belonging to *Decimus Brutus*: What they gave out to juſtify themſelves to the People was *Liberty*; but that Pretence was not much regarded by them, for they had been ſo uſed to ſubmit of late, and were ſo changed from their ancient jealous and vigorous Temper, that they much more dreaded the Effects of Poverty than Subjection. *Anthony*, now Conſul, and *Lepidus*, were extremely enrag'd at *Cæſar*'s Death, and were reſolv'd to revenge it to the utmoſt; therefore the latter immediately got to a Legion of his juſt by, and led 'em into the *Campus Martius*, where *Anthony*, as Conſul, commanded 'em. This much ſurpriz'd the Conſpirators, and put 'em upon ſending Deputies to *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, deſiring 'em, *to conſider the ſad Conſequences of a Diviſion at this time; that no Hatred to* Cæſar's *Perſon had put them upon that Deſign, but only their hearty Loves to their Country, which had already been ſo drain'd by Civil Wars, that any new Diſunion muſt carry off the miſerable Remainder; that they believ'd them alſo too generous to let any particular Hatred tranſport them to the Prejudice of the Publick.* *Anthony* began to conſider, that *Decimus*, who was now Governor of the *Hither Gaul*, might fall upon him with a powerful Army, therefore he reſolv'd to gain what time he cou'd, and endeavour'd to get over *Decimus*'s Soldiers; and for that reaſon return'd Anſwer, *That tho' their Honours and their Oaths had engag'd 'em to revenge* Cæſar's *Death, and tho' they thought it more honourable to live without Reproach among a few good Men, than to draw upon themſelves the Miſeries due to Falſhood; yet they were not obſtinate, but were content to have the Se-*

nate assembled, that they might be govern'd by so many illustrious and discerning Persons: Which Answer was receiv'd with much Satisfaction.

The Senate was immediately call'd, where a great many Debates arose, and several Opinions were urg'd, which at last terminated in this, *That they had but two things to chuse, either to declare* Cæsar *a Tyrant, or that his Murderers stood in need of Pardon. Anthony* industriously oppos'd the former, urging, *That if the Memory of* Cæsar *were condemn'd, all his Orders ought to be cancell'd; and that wou'd be in effect to proclaim so many illustrious Men as he had rais'd, unworthy of their Honours; which, besides drawing upon themselves the Contempt of other Nations, wou'd infallibly turn to the Confusion of the Commonwealth.* After many violent Heats and Disturbances in the House, and great Tumults at the Doors, the Senate at last pass'd an Act of Oblivion for all what was past, and ratify'd *Cæsar*'s Ordinances; with this Reason enter'd, *Because it was requisite for the Good of the Commonwealth.* This Act of Oblivion brought Matters to a more peaceable Posture; but *Anthony* finding the People much discontented, resolv'd to pursue his Revenge upon the Conspirators, tho' he was seemingly reconcil'd to 'em. The next Day therefore he order'd *Cæsar*'s Will to be publickly read before the Body of the People, which he knew wou'd have a considerable Influence upon 'em; which Danger the Conspirators had been so sensible of, that they us'd their utmost Endeavour to hinder its being read. In the Will it appear'd that *Octavius*, the Grandson of *Julia*, *Cæsar*'s Sister, was adopted to take upon him his Name, and constituted Heir of three Parts in four of all his Estate, and *Pinarius* and *Pedius* of the other fourth Part. To the *Roman* People he left the Gardens which he had on the other side of the *Tiber*, and to every Citizen in particular, a certain Sum of Money. Among his second Heirs, who were to inherit in case of Mortality,

lity, he ſubſtituted *Decimus Brutus*, one of the Conſpirators. Several others alſo who had dipp'd their Hands in his Blood, were nam'd for Guardians for his Son, in caſe he had left one. Theſe Tokens of *Cæſar*'s Goodneſs, and his great Affection for the People, began to move the Multitude extremely; but *Brutus*'s being an Heir, provok'd the Indignation of the whole Aſſembly.

Immediately after this, *Cæſar*'s Body was brought forth with extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity, being born by ſome of the moſt Illuſtrious of the Senate: It was ſet down in the middle of the *Forum*, with a Guard of Soldiers; in which Place was erected a little Temple of gilded Wood, according to the Model of that of *Venus*; and in this Temple was a Bed of Ivory, magnificently adorn'd with Curtains of Gold and Purple Trophies, and the Robe that he wore when he was aſſaſſinated. All the People ran haſtily to ſee this Sight, weeping and lamenting afreſh, and thoſe who bore Arms made deep Complaints, as if they demanded Vengeance. *Anthony* aſcending the Place, began *Cæſar*'s Funeral Oration in this manner: Romans, *tho' I alone preſent my ſelf to celebrate the Memory of this great Man, whoſe Body you ſee thus mangled here before ye, yet I can read in each Man's Look the Affections of his Mind, and the Thoughts of his Heart, which give nobler Praiſes than my Tongue can expreſs: So that when I ſhall recount to you the Extent of his glorious Actions, the Variety of his Noble Virtues, and the Number of the deſerved Honours which the Senate and you have conferr'd upon him, I ſhall not be ſo much the Publiſher of my own Sentiments, as the Interpreter of Yours.* Then he mention'd all his Titles of Honour, his Dictatorſhip, his ſeveral Conſulſhips, with the moſt deſerving Name of *Father of his Country*; from whence he proceeded to his Virtues, praiſing his generous Courage, his exquiſite Learning, his free Spirit, and above all, his unbounded Cle-

Clemency. After which he repeated the Oath which the People of *Rome* had made to *Cæſar*, by which they ſwore, *That his Perſon ſhould be Sacred and Inviolable, and call'd the Gods to witneſs that they would defend it with the hazard of their Lives.* But obſerving ſome Alteration in ſeveral of the Senators, he concluded with ſaying, *That what had been done, ought rather to be forgotten, ſince it was the Crime of ſome Infernal Spirits, Enemies to* Rome, *rather than Men; and nothing ought further to be thought of, than the honouring the Memory of this Illuſtrious Hero, and placing him among the Immortal Gods.*

At the end of this Oration, one of the principal Attendants, as if ſome Fury had poſſeſs'd him, tore off *Cæſar*'s Robe from the Trophy, and ſhew'd it to the People, crying out, *That it was the Spoil of a Perſon belov'd of the Gods, and reverenc'd by the World even to Adorotion.* This and ſeveral other things he ſpoke in a moſt moving Tone, uſing many great Outcries and ſtrange Poſtures of Sorrow, which extremely ſtirr'd up the People's Compaſſion. At the ſame time was expos'd *Cæſar*'s Image in Wax, which mov'd it ſelf by Springs, and ſhew'd the ſeveral Wounds which he had receiv'd upon his Face and in his Body, and this Sight tranſported the People even to Madneſs, and made 'em cry out, *That they wou'd inflict the moſt cruel Puniſhments, and execute the moſt dreadful Revenges upon the Heads of all his Murtherers.* Upon the lighting of the Pile, all the old Soldiers who had ſerv'd under him, with an unexpreſſible Grief, threw into the Fire all their Coronets, Pikes, Bracelets, and other Tokens of Honours which he had given 'em. A great many Ladies of Quality alſo threw in their Children's Robes and Ornaments, with every thing they had of Value about 'em. The People ran and tore up the Benches and Seats of the Magiſtrates juſt by, and after that, with flaming Brands from the Pile, ran deſperately to ſet fire to the

the Conſpirators Houſes; and meeting with one *Cinna*, whom they miſtook for another of that Name, they immediately tore him in a thouſand Pieces. The Conſpirators themſelves being of the greateſt Families, and well guarded, with no great Trouble, repuls'd the People; but nevertheleſs ſo great was the Rage and Threats of the People, that they thought it much more ſafe to retire from the City. All the Strangers in *Rome* mourn'd after their Cuſtoms, and more particularly the *Jews*, who watch'd ſeveral Nights at *Cæſar*'s Pile. At laſt Divine Honours were given him, and an Altar erected in the Place of his Burning, where *Octavius Cæſar*, afterwards call'd *Auguſtus*, caus'd a Temple to be built, and a Pillar of Jaſper, twenty Foot high, with this Inſcription; *To the Father of his Country.*

At the ſame time that *Cæſar* was kill'd, his Heir and adopted Son *Octavius*, afterwards call'd *Auguſtus*, was at *Apollonia* in *Greece*, who upon the firſt News of the Murther, notwithſtanding the earneſt Advice of his Friends to ſecure himſelf there, return'd to *Rome* with all ſpeed, with a full Reſolution to revenge his Death; not queſtioning but to find *Anthony* both a Friend and Aſſiſtant in this Deſign. But *Anthony* now was ſo much chang'd, and ſo buſy employ'd in his Projects of raiſing and advancing himſelf, that he could hearken but little to ſuch a Propoſal; and when *Octavius* publickly declar'd himſelf *Cæſar*'s Heir, and demanded his Money of *Anthony*, or at leaſt ſome part of it, he receiv'd him with great Coldneſs, and Contempt of his Youth, refuſing to give him any upon ſeveral Pretences. Yet neither *Anthony*'s Repulſes, nor his Friends Advices to the contrary, cou'd ſtop *Octavius* from purſuing his Deſigns, who was now about Eighteen Years old, of a great Wit, a lofty Mind, and of a moſt inſinuating Converſation, and had a Face ſo comely and graceful, that it acquir'd him

him a Veneration from all Men. That he might be certain to gain the People's Hearts, he ſold all his Inheritance to pay off the Legacies given 'em by his Uncle *Cæſar*'s Will, which procur'd him much Love, and *Cæſar*'s old Soldiers flock'd to him in conſiderable Numbers, whom he accepted of out of Fear to *Anthony*, who daily became more ſuſpicious both to the Senate and People. *Octavius* manag'd his Affairs with ſo much Skill and Dexterity, that thoſe who before admir'd at his Boldneſs of oppoſing *Anthony*, were now as much ſurpriz'd at his extraordinary Addreſs and Authority. *Anthony*, on the other ſide, being ſenſible of the paſſionate Affection the People had for *Pompey*, to curry Favour, propos'd the promoting *Sextus*, his only ſurviving Son; that in requital of his Father's Eſtate confiſcated, he might have an Allowance out of the Publick, and the ſame Command of the Seas and Navy that his Father formerly had. This was receiv'd with great Applauſe, and ſtrait enacted; ſo *Pompey* was call'd back into *Sicily*, where he afterwards manag'd a ſharp War againſt *Octavius*.

Anthony was ſtill reſtleſs, and reſolv'd, if it were poſſible, to procure ſome Province to be aſſign'd him, that he might get the greater Authority; and the Difference daily increaſing between him and *Octavius*, he deſir'd to command the ſix Legions which lay in *Macedonia*, and obtain'd them by deceiving the Senate with a falſe Rumour, that the *Getæ* hearing of *Cæſar*'s Death, had invaded that Province. And becauſe the Senate ſhew'd great Unwillingneſs to this Demand, and more Jealouſy of his Power, he endeavour'd to ſatisfie 'em, by preferring a Law againſt any Man's being *Dictator* for the future, and making it Death for any to offer at it. Theſe Legions he deſign'd to bring over into *Italy*, to awe and command all; and the better to effect this, he preferr'd another Law for changing of Provinces, and

and by that procur'd *Macedonia* for his Brother *C. Antonius*, which had been aſſign'd to *M. Brutus*, and the *Hither Gaul* for himſelf, which had been allotted to *Decimus Brutus*. The Senate wou'd by no means admit of this Demand, but ſent to *D. Brutus*, *to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the Pretenſions of* Anthony; which caus'd *Anthony* to betake himſelf to the People, where partly by Force, and partly by Bribes, he obtain'd it. But ſtill he was not altogether ſo ſucceſsful as he expected; for his daily Quarrels with *Octavius*, and his little Care of revenging *Cæſar*'s Death, gain'd him the Hatred of his Soldiers; ſo that when he had brought over his Legions, two of 'em went over to *Octavius*, who now was very buſy in going through all *Italy*, and gathering together Soldiers out of the Colonies which his Uncle had planted. At length *Anthony* with a conſiderable Army march'd into *Gaul*, from whence he commanded *Decimus Brutus* to depart, who gave way to him for ſome time; but at laſt retreated to *Mutina*, where *Anthony* ſoon after ſtraitly beſieg'd him: And thus a new War broke out in about three quarters of a Year after *Cæſar*'s Death.

II. About this time new Conſuls were made, which were *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, both great Friends of *Julius Cæſar*, as well as Intimates of *Cicero*, the former of which ſerv'd under *Cæſar*, and gave the relation of the Wars of *Ægypt* and *Africk*, which is annex'd to his Commentaries. Upon their aſſembling the Senate, *Anthony* was declar'd Enemy to the State, but eſpecially by *Cicero*'s Means, who now had made many ingenious and ſevere Invectives againſt him, which, in Imitation of *Demoſthenes*, he publiſh'd under the Name of *Philippicks*. This prov'd of great Advantage towards the bringing in, and preferring young *Octavius*; for tho' the Senate, as being generally of *Pompey*'s Faction, had little or no Eſteem for him, *U. C.* 711.

him, yet they resolv'd to make use of him for his Army's sake, and upon that account erected him a Statue, made him a Senator, tho' at this Age, decreed that he should be consider'd as ten Years older in respect of Publick Preferment, and likewise gave him equal Power and Authority with the Consuls themselves, whom they sent with all speed to relieve *Decimus*, now besieg'd by *Anthony*. Tho' the Senate had oblig'd *Octavius* by these Honours, yet their promoting and giving Provinces to all the Conspirators, much more displeas'd him; and a Letter from *Anthony*, upbraiding him *with advancing and assisting* Cæsar's *Murderers*, gave him great Scruples; but concealing his Designs with a Prudence surpassing his Age, he march'd with the Consuls. The Consuls in a short time took *Bononia*, and *Anthony* shortly after meeting *Pansa*, overthrew him; but returning carelessly to his Camp, was worsted by *Hirtius*. Not many Days after, a general Battel was fought nigh *Mutina*, wherein *Anthony* with much Difficulty, and great Bloodshed, was defeated, and fled to *Lepidus*, who then commanded in the further *Gaul*. Both the Consuls dy'd of their Wounds, *Pensa* first advising *Octavius* to join with *Anthony*; and *Decimus* being at this time spar'd, tho' not pardon'd, by *Octavius*, thought of getting to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, now in *Greece*; but his Soldiers, not pleas'd with the Journey, went over part to *Octavius*, and part to *Anthony*; and himself, endeavouring with a few Attendants to pass thro' *Gaul*, was taken and betray'd at *Aquileia* by *Sequanus* Governor of the Country, who sent his Head to *Anthony*. This was the End of one of the chief Conspirators, which was attended with the Deaths of *Trebonius* and *Basilius* much about the same time; the former, excluding *Dolabella* from *Pergamus* and *Smyrna*, by reason the Senate had declar'd him an Enemy, was taken by him, and after grievous Torments, had his Head cut off,

off, which the Soldiers kick'd about after a moſt contemptuous manner; and the latter was murder'd by his own Slaves, whom before he had us'd very ſeverely.

Octavius gain'd much Reputation in theſe Wars; but the Senate now finding little or no occaſion for him, ſlighted him extreamly, and decreed all the Honour that he gain'd, to *Decimus*, whom he had reliev'd: Beſides, they gave him many detracting and reproachful Words, and deny'd him a Triumph when he demanded it. From this moment he reſolv'd to join with *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, ſending back all the Priſoners taken at the Battel of *Mutina* without Ranſom; for ſince the Senators were moſt againſt his Uncle, he cou'd not revenge his Death without ſome new Aſſiſtance; and at the ſame time that he wrote to theſe two, he ſent 400 of his Soldiers into the City, in the Name of his Army, to demand the Conſulſhip for him. The Senate was as ready to deny him as the other two were to join with him; which caus'd *Octavius* to ſend for *Anthony* and *Lepidus* into *Italy*. The News of their Approach, and at the Head of ſeventeen Legions, ſo terrify'd and ſtartled the Senate, that they immediately declar'd *Octavius* Conſul with *Pedius*; but upon the ſudden Arrival of ſome new Troops, they as ſoon repeal'd their Decree again; and never was the Senate of *Rome* ſo diſtracted between different Intereſts, and ſo guilty of Irreſolution, as at this time. Theſe new Troops not anſwering their Expectations, the Senate again decreed him Conſul, and moreover advanc'd him above all Example: They decreed, that after his Conſulſhip he ſhould take place of all Conſuls, and tho' formerly they were diſpleas'd with his levying Forces, as being a private Man, now they deſir'd him to increaſe his Army, and order'd him the Legions of *Decimus*. The City was likewiſe committed to his Care, and Power given him to act what he

he pleas'd, tho' without the Preſcript of the Laws, which he retain'd to his Death. So that *Octavius* now with no great Difficulty procur'd Laws to condemn *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, with their ſeveral Accomplices, and likewiſe to cancel thoſe Decrees made againſt *Dolabella*, and other of his Friends.

In a ſhort time after *Octavius*'s Conſulſhip, *Anthony* and *Lepidus* arriv'd in *Italy*, where *Octavius* met 'em nigh *Mutina*, and after three Days Conference, enter'd into a ſtrict Combination with them; in which it was agreed, *That* Octavius *ſhould quit his Conſulſhip, and leave the Title to* Ventidius, Anthony's *great Friend: That the Supreme Authority ſhould be divided between theſe three, which they ſhou'd keep for the ſpace of five Years under the Name of* Triumviri, *and in Quality of the* Reformers of the Commonwealth: *That they ſhould cauſe that Authority to be confirm'd by the* Roman *People: That* Anthony *ſhould have all* Gaul, *except* Narbon, *which* Lepidus *was to have with* Spain, *and* Octavius *ſhould have* Africk, *with* Sicily *and* Sardinia: Italy *and the* Eaſtern *Provinces were for a while to remain in Common.* In this manner did theſe Men divide the World between 'em, as if it had been their Inheritance. They further agreed, *That all their Enemies ſhould be deſtroy'd*; and in this the Caſe of *Cicero* caus'd the greateſt Controverſie; for *Anthony*, his implacable Enemy, wou'd conſent to nothing till his Death was determin'd: *Lepidus* was content with it, but *Octavius* wou'd willingly have preſerv'd him, upon the Account of former Friendſhip; yet at laſt he conſented, and for that Reaſon *Lepidus* permitted his Brother *Paulus*, and *Anthony* his Uncle *Lucius*, to be likewiſe proſcrib'd. Laſtly, it was agreed, *That* Lepidus *ſhould be made Conſul for the following Year, and guard* Rome *and* Italy, *while the other two manag'd the War againſt* Brutus *and* Caſſius, who now were ſtrongly poſſeſs'd of *Greece* and *Syria*, and had lately taken *Dolabella* in *Laodicea*, and beheaded

beheaded him. In this manner was concluded the ſecond *Triumvirate*, the Conſequences whereof were ſo dreadful, and which in effect gave the laſt Blow to the Liberty of the *Roman* Commonwealth. It was concluded on above a Year and a half after *Julius Cæſar*'s Death, and was introduc'd, as ſome Authors report, with many ſtrange Preſages and frightful Prodigies.

III. Now was the City of *Rome* in a very miſerable and deplorable Condition; for the firſt thing done by the *Triumviri*, after Eſtabliſhment of their Authority, was a dreadful *Proſcription* of 300 of the *Senatorian*, and about 2000 of the *Equeſtrian* Rank; and nothing but Cries and Lamentations were heard through all the City, and Murders committed in all Places by the Soldiers. No Man dared refuſe Entrance to any of 'em, who ſearch'd the moſt ſecret Places; and *Rome* at this time appear'd like a City wholly expos'd to Waſte and Pillage. Great Numbers of uncondemn'd Perſons periſh'd in this Confuſion; ſome by Malice or Miſtake, and others for concealing or defending their Friends: In ſhort, all the moſt Tragick Fury that either Revenge or Intereſt could produce, and all the moſt generous Kindneſs that Love or Fidelity cou'd inſpire, were to be ſeen in divers Accidents relating to this *Proſcription*. Though the Pretence was the revenging of *Cæſar*'s Death, yet many ſuffer'd upon the Account of their great Eſtates, others out of Malice and old Reſentments, and ſome for their convenient Houſes and Gardens. Among thoſe of greateſt Note was the famous *Varro*, who now living to ſee and feel a ſecond *Trecipitina*, as he calls it in his Writings, yet with much difficulty eſcap'd with his Life. But *Cicero* was the Man moſt aim'd at by *Anthony*, which caus'd him to get on board a Ship with all ſpeed; but not being able to endure the Sea, he return'd to

The Second *Triumvirate.*

Land, ſaying, *That he would die in his own Country, which he had ſo often preſerv'd.* Being weary both of his Flight and his Life, he came to a ſmall Village a little above a Mile from the Sea. Here his Servants, terrify'd by ſeveral Prodigies, partly by Perſuaſion, and partly by Force, put him again into his Litter, and were carrying him back to the Sea. But *Cicero* perceiving thoſe that came to apprehend him, order'd his Litter to be ſet down, and quietly laid out his Neck to *Popilius Lena*, the *Tribune*, whom formerly by his Eloquence he had ſav'd from Condemnation. *Lena* cut off his Head and Hands, which he preſented to *Anthony*, who cou'd not forbear inſulting over thoſe poor Members, and crying out, *That his Revenge was compleated, and he had no further occaſion for the Proſcription.* But his Wife *Fulvia's* Hatred cou'd not be confin'd to Words, for ſhe pierc'd his Tongue ſeveral times with a Golden Bodkin, after a moſt ſpiteful manner; and *Anthony* order'd his Head and Hands to be ſet up upon the *Roſtrum*, where the People cou'd not without Horror behold thoſe ſad Remains of a Man who had ſo often triumph'd there by the Force and Charms of his Eloquence. Thus fell the great *Cicero*, in the ſixty third Year of his Age; *A Man*, as *Julius Cæſar* obſerves, *that obtain'd a Laurel as much above all Triumphs, as the Enlargement of the Bounds of the* Roman *Wit was above that of the Bounds of the* Roman *Empire.*

About the ſame time, *Quintius*, *Cicero's* Brother, was ſlain, together with all his Sons; but *Cicero's* Sons eſcap'd, for he had ſome time before ſent 'em to *Athens* to be there educated. Still the City was fill'd with Slaughters, and the ordinary Price of the Head of a *Proſcrib'd* Perſon brought to the *Triumviri*, was 100000 Seſterces, if done by a Freeman, and half as much if done by a Slave, with the Freedom of the City. This corrupted a great many, who forgetting both Duty and Natural Affection, betray'd

tray'd thoſe whoſe Preſervation they ought principally to have endeavour'd. Tho' many rare and admirable Examples of the Love of Wives to their Husbands, and of Slaves to their Maſters, appear'd, yet thoſe of Children to their Parents were leſs common. However, *Oppius*'s Act may ſtand for many, who, *Æneas*-like, carry'd out his old and decrepid Father upon his Back, and convey'd him to the Sea, ſometimes leading, and othertimes carrying him, till they both eſcap'd into *Sicily*; from whence afterwards, upon his Return, the People, out of a juſt ſenſe of his Piety, made him *Ædile*, in which Office, wanting Money to ſet out the uſual Games, the Workmen did all without Wages, and the Spectators enrich'd him by their voluntary Contributions. As many as cou'd eſcape the Cruelty of the Proſcription, fled either into *Macedonia* to *Brutus*, or into *Africk* to *Cornificius*; but the greateſt Number went to young *Pompey* in *Sicily*, who was now very powerful, eſpecially by Sea. His Generoſity was at this time a very great Succour to many illuſtrious Perſons; he ſent Brigantines and other ſmall Veſſels to all the Coaſts of *Italy*, to receive ſuch as made their eſcape, and treated them with much Kindneſs and Civility.

The *Triumviri* having almoſt ſatisfy'd their Revenge, began now to think of Money, which they very much wanted to carry on the War againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*: For this Reaſon they drew up a Liſt of 1400 of the richeſt Ladies of *Rome*, Mothers, Daughters, or any Relations of their Enemies: Theſe Alliances were far enough fetch'd, for Riches alone was ſufficient to make 'em guilty in this Caſe. Theſe Ladies aſſembling themſelves, firſt went to the Female Relations of the *Triumviri*, and after that to the Palace of theſe Magiſtrates, where, after ſeveral Repulſes, one of 'em was permitted to ſpeak, upon condition that the reſt wou'd be ſilent: This was

Hortenſia, the Daughter of *Hortenſius*, who alone had been able to diſpute with *Cicero* for Eloquence; *My Lords*, ſaid ſhe, *theſe unhappy Ladies, which you ſee here imploring your Juſtice and Bounty, would never have preſum'd to appear in this Place, had they not firſt made uſe of all poſſible Means, which either their native Modeſty might allow, or their beſt Underſtandings cou'd inform 'em. Tho' it be contrary to the Rules of Decency preſcrib'd to our Sex, which we have hitherto moſt ſtrictly obſerv'd; yet the Loſs of our Fathers, of our Children, of our Brothers, and of our Husbands, is ſufficient to excuſe us; nay, and to vindicate us too, when their unhappy Deaths are made a Pretence for our further Misfortunes. You pretend ye have been affronted, but what have the Women done that they muſt be impoveriſh'd? If they are as blameable as the reſt, why do you not proſcribe them too? In the mean time none of our Sex have ever declar'd you your Country's Enemies: We have neither plunder'd your Goods, nor ſuborn'd your Soldiers: We have rais'd no Troops againſt you, nor oppoſe thoſe Honours and Offices to which you pretend. We pretend not to govern the Republick, nor is it our Ambition which has drawn the preſent Miſeries and Misfortunes on our Heads; Empire, Dignities, and Honours, were never deſign'd for our Sex. We, alas, have done nothing to affront you, nothing to offend you, or ſo much as move you to this ſevere Treatment; a Treatment which neither* Cæſar *nor* Pompey *ever propos'd in their Wars, nor* Marius *nor* Cinna *ever thought of in their Cruelties; no, not* Sylla *himſelf, who firſt ſet up Tyranny in* Rome: *Yet, after all, you adorn your ſelves with the glorious Title of* Reformers of the State. This Diſcourſe appear'd ſo Bold and Dangerous to the *Triumviri*, that they immediately ſent their Uſhers to cauſe the Ladies to retire; but perceiving the Multitude began to cry out againſt ſuch Violence, they adjourn'd the Affair till the next Day, and, for the Satisfaction of the People, retrench'd the Number of the Ladies to 400, but at the ſame time tax'd above 100000 Men, as well Citizens

tizens as Strangers. At last the *Triumviri* went into the Senate to declare that the Proscription was at an end. *Lepidus* excus'd himself for what had pass'd, assuring the Senators of a more moderate Conduct: But *Octavius* more politickly said, *He wou'd still reserve to himself the Liberty of punishing such as were guilty.* After this, *Anthony* and *Octavius* with all Diligence march'd against *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

IV. The Conspirators had now made a considerable Progress in the *East*, and *Cassius* having got all *Syria* into his Power, thought of making an Expedition into *Ægypt* against *Cleopatra*, who had made great Preparations to assist *Cæsar* and his Party. But *Cassius* was immediately recall'd by *Brutus* upon the News that *Anthony* and *Cæsar* were now upon their March with forty Legions; of which eight had already pass'd the *Ionian Sea*. *Brutus* in his Letter told him, *That their powerful Armies were not design'd for their particular Advancement, but the Liberty of their Country; therefore they ought not so much to aim at the Glory of new Conquests, as the Destroying those who sought the Ruin of that Liberty.* *Cassius* therefore leaving *Syria* to his Brother's Son with one single Legion, he sent a considerable Party into *Cappadocia*, which slew *Ariobarzanes*, as one who had conspir'd against him, and there rais'd vast Sums of Money. After many severe Exactions, he came himself into the *Lesser Asia*, and meeting *Brutus* at *Smyrna*, they there consulted about the present War. *Brutus* mov'd to have the Armies pass over into *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and there meet *Octavius* and *Anthony*; but *Cassius* so far prevail'd, as to have the *Rhodians* and *Lycians* first reduc'd, who had refus'd to pay any Contributions, and were very powerful at Sea. Both were sensible how dangerous it was to have any Enemies behind 'em; therefore this Expedition was immediately put in Execution, and in a short time compleated, and *U. C.* 712.

extraordinary Contributions were rais'd by that means. The *Rhodians* were ſeverely plunder'd, and ſcarce any thing but their Lives left 'em; but the Inhabitants of *Xanthus* made ſuch an obſtinate Reſiſtance, that ſcarce any were left alive, for they burnt their City, and deſtroy'd themſelves with it. After the reducing of theſe Places, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* met at *Sardis*, from whence, after ſeveral Conſultations, they reſolv'd to march againſt *Anthony* and *Octavius*.

Here it was that *Brutus* is reported to have ſeen a Ghoſt in his Tent after Midnight. He ever employ'd the greateſt part of the Night in diſpatching of Affairs, and in Reading; and one Night being thus employ'd, according to his Cuſtom, there was a general Silence through all the Camp, eſpecially about his Tent, when of a ſudden he heard an unuſual Noiſe at the Door, which open'd of it ſelf at the ſame time. *Brutus* caſting his Eye towards the Place, perceiv'd the frightful Figure of a hideous Spectre, of a Proportion much more than natural, which preſented it ſelf before him: He had notwithſtanding the Courage to ſpeak to it, demanding, *Art thou a God, or art thou a Man, and for what Reaſon cameſt thou hither? I am*, reply'd the Spirit, *thy Evil Genius*, Brutus, *and thou ſhalt ſee me again near* Philippi. *Brutus* very boldly anſwer'd, *Well, I will ſee thee*; and immediately it diſappear'd. He preſently call'd up his Slaves, who all told him, *That they had neither ſeen nor heard any thing.* He continu'd walking all the reſt of the Night, and early in the Morning went to give an Account of what happen'd to *Caſſius*, who, being an *Epicurean*, told him, *That all this proceeded from the Weakneſs of his Senſes, and the Strength of his Imagination at that time. As for the reſt*, continu'd he, *let us not believe that here are any ſuch Spirits here, that have either Voice, human Shape, or Power over us; tho' I could wiſh there*

were

were, that we might not only rely upon the Greatneſs of our Forces, but likewiſe upon the Aſſiſtance of theſe Immortal Beings, who cou'd not but be favourable to a Cauſe ſo Juſt and Sacred as ours is. This Diſcourſe ſatisfy'd *Brutus*, and ſoon after they paſs'd over into *Thrace*, and ſo to *Philippi*, a City between that Country and *Macedonia*, nigh which the Forces of the *Triumviri* were poſted.

It was with extraordinary Fear and Terror that all Perſons ſtood waiting the Succeſs of theſe two powerful Armies, which were to decide the Fate and Fortune of the *Roman* Empire. The Conſpirators Forces conſiſted of 19 Legions, and 20000 Horſe, and the *Triumviri* of the ſame Number of Legions, but much better compleated, and of 13000 Horſe. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* encamp'd on a high and convenient Ground nigh the Sea, where they were ſupply'd with Proviſions in abundance. The other Party was much ſtreighten'd for want of Neceſſaries, having only *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly* open to 'em; for *Pompey* had cut off all Communication from *Africk*, and *Marcus* and *Ænobarbus* from *Italy*, by their ſeveral Navies. This made *Anthony* extremely deſirous of coming to a Battel, which *Caſſius* being ſenſible of, refus'd to engage, tho' *Brutus* was very forward, ſaying, *That he was impatient to put an end to the Miſeries of Mankind by a glorious Victory, or a noble Death.* At laſt *Anthony*, with great Labour and Induſtry, made a way through a large Fen, and *Caſſius* threw up Works againſt him, which, with the Soldiers forwardneſs, caus'd a general Battel, tho' much againſt *Caſſius*'s Will, who declar'd, *That he was forc'd, in the ſame manner as* Pompey *was, to expoſe the Liberty of the* Roman *People to the hazard of a Battel.* In the Morning juſt before the Battel, *Caſſius* ask'd *Brutus*'s Opinion of what they ought to do if they were unſucceſsful, and *Brutus* reply'd, *That he had formerly in his Writings condemn'd the Death of*

Cato, *and maintain'd that ſuch a manner of avoiding Diſgraces, was an inſolent Attempt againſt Heaven that ſent 'em; but that he had now alter'd his Opinion, ſince he was not Maſter of his Life, having already ſacrific'd it to his Country, he was reſolv'd to change it for a happier, if Fortune prov'd his Enemy.* *Caſſius* embracing him, told him, *Now we may venture againſt the Enemy; for either we will be Conquerors our ſelves, or will have no Cauſe to fear thoſe that are ſo.*

The Forces of the *Triumviri* were commanded by *Anthony* alone, *Octavius* being now ſick; and both Armies being drawn up, *Brutus*'s Party in a ſhort time attack'd that of *Octavius* with little Order, but with ſo much Fury, that at the firſt Onſet they overthrew all that oppos'd, and preſſing forward with great Slaughter, they enter'd the very Camp of *Octavius*, who had juſt retreated to *Anthony*'s. *Anthony* was very hotly engag'd with *Caſſius*, but in a ſhort time found means to open a Paſſage thro' the Lines, and charging *Caſſius*'s Troops upon the Flank, overthrew 'em with great Slaughter; then purſuing the Victory, he ſoon became Maſter of his Camp; which Skill and Diligence he had learnt from *Julius Cæſar*. *Caſſius* retir'd to a Hill not far off, expecting the Event of the Battel on his Partner's ſide; and by reaſon of the greatneſs of the Duſt, he could not diſcern whoſe Cavalry it was that made towards him at a diſtance: He therefore ſent *Titinius* to make the Diſcovery. *Titinius* was receiv'd with great Joy by 'em, who were bringing Tidings of Victory, but ſtaid ſo long, that *Caſſius* fearing *Brutus* had been routed, and his Friend taken Priſoner, cry'd out, *Alas, to preſerve the Remainders of a miſerable Life, I have ruin'd my beſt Friend.* At theſe Words he retir'd into his Tent, and kill'd himſelf, or caus'd his Freed Man to do it. *Titinius* arriv'd immediately after with the Cavalry, all rejoicing; but their Joy was ſuddenly daſh'd, and *Titinius* firſt accuſing himſelf of

Folly

Folly and Lazineſs, in a great Rage ſlew himſelf upon the Body of his Friend.

Brutus was extremely ſorrowful for the Death of his Companion, whom he call'd the *laſt of the Romans*, cauſing his Body privately to be remov'd and bury'd out of ſight, leſt his Army ſhould be too much dejected. In the mean time he told his Friends, *That he thought* Caſſius *very happy in being beyond the reach of thoſe Misfortunes which remain'd for them to ſuffer.* He for ſome little time kept from Fighting, expecting to ſtarve his Enemies, who were now in extreme want of Proviſions, their Fleet being lately defeated; but at laſt, being forc'd to it by the Fear of a general Deſertion, and the Eagerneſs of his Soldiers, he drew 'em up in Battalia. It is reported, that the Spectre which he had ſeen before, appear'd to him again the Night before this great Battel, but now ſaid nothing. Whatever melancholy Apprehenſions he had upon him, he encourag'd his Men as much as poſſible, promiſing 'em *the Liberty of Plundering the two Cities of* Lacedæmon *and* Theſſalonica; and when the Battel began, the Eagerneſs of both Parties made 'em throw aſide their miſſive Weapons, and betake themſelves immediately to their Swords, fighting with great Fury, till after much time, and more Bloodſhed, *Brutus*'s Party was born down by main Force, and intirely defeated. *Brutus* himſelf fled to a Hill hard by, and there remain'd all Night; and when in the Morning he ſaw no way of eſcaping, he began to cry out, *O unhappy Vertue, I follow thee as a ſolid Good, but thou art only a meer Notion, a vain empty Name, or at beſt a Slave of Fortune.* Yet ſhortly after he told ſome of his Friends, *That he look'd upon himſelf much happier than any of his Conquerors, ſince he ſhou'd enjoy that Reputation which always follows Vertue, and which Tyranny and Injuſtice cou'd never deſerve.* Then going aſide with a particular Friend call'd *Strato*, he with all Earneſtneſs begg'd

of

of him, *To ſhew him the laſt Office of his Friendſhip*; and ſeeing him very unwilling to perform ſo hard a Duty, he call'd for a Slave. *Ah!* then cry'd *Strato*, *it ſhall never be ſaid, that the great* Brutus, *in his laſt Extremity, ſtood in need of a Slave for want of a Friend*; ſo turning away his Head, he preſented the Sword's Point to *Brutus*, who threw himſelf upon it, and immediately expir'd.

This was the End of thoſe two memorable Perſons, *Brutus* and *Caſſius*; and, as ſome write, they themſelves dy'd by the ſame Weapons with which they kill'd *Cæſar*, who had given 'em their Lives after the Battel of *Pharſalia*, and after that, had loaden 'em with his greateſt Favours; which Favours ſome make uſe of to aggravate the Ingratitude, and others to magnifie the Juſtice of the Act. All ſuch as knew themſelves guilty of *Julius Cæſar*'s Death, ſlew themſelves with their own Hands; but the reſt rallying themſelves, ſent Deputies to *Cæſar* and *Anthony* for an honourable Compoſition, which the two Generals frankly allow'd of. By this famous Overthrow the *Triumviri* eſtabliſh'd their Authority ſo far as to give the laſt Blow to the Liberty of the Commonwealth; for the Oppoſition they met from *Pompey* was inconſiderable in reſpect of this, in which they were to diſpute for one half of the *Roman* Dominions. This happen'd above two Years after *Julius Cæſar*'s Death, and about half a Year after the ſecond *Triumvirate*, in the 712th Year of the City, and 40 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

From the Death of Brutus *and* Caſſius, *to the Baniſhment of* Lepidus; *which vary'd the Courſe of the ſecond* Triumvirate's *Power.*

Containing the Space of ſix Years.

AS the laſt Efforts and Struggles of a dying Commonwealth are generally the moſt violent, ſo were theſe of *Rome* the greateſt that ever ſhe had for the maintaining her Liberty. For in the Sedition of the *Gracchi*, and in the Wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Rome* and *Italy* were only Sufferers; and tho' in the Diſſentions of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, the Troubles were more general, yet ſeveral of the Senators and People thought they might well enough ſtand Neuters out of their Reſpect to the Commonwealth, which Name in Appearance was ſtill reverenc'd: Whereas in theſe laſt Wars the Mask was wholly laid aſide, and all things were carry'd on in ſuch an open manner, that there was an abſolute Neceſſity of declaring for Liberty or againſt it. But now all Pretence of Liberty was utterly ruin'd by the Defeats of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*; and from that Moment the *Triumviri* began to act as Sovereigns, and to divide the *Roman* Dominions between 'em as their own by Right of Conqueſt, though *Lepidus* was not much conſider'd by the other two, as either having no ſhare in this laſt Battel, or little Intereſt among the Soldiers. The following Days after the Victory,

Victory, were employ'd by the *Triumviri* in punishing their Enemies; *Anthony* sacrific'd *Hortensius* to the Memory of his Brother *Caius*; *Livius Brutus*, the Father of that *Livia* who was afterwards marry'd to *Octavius*, kill'd himself in his Tent; and *Quintilius Varus*, adorn'd with all the Marks of those Honours he had born, caus'd himself to be slain by his Freed Man. *Octavius*, upon this Occasion, appear'd more cruel than was agreeable to his natural Temper; he sent the Head of *Brutus* to *Rome*, to be thrown at the Feet of his Uncle's Statue: His Ashes were sent to his Wife *Porcia*, *Cato*'s Daughter, who, according to her Father's and Husband's Example, it is said, kill'd her self, by swallowing down hot Coals and Ashes. *Octavius* forc'd a Senator and his Son to draw Lots for their Lives; but they both refus'd it; the Father voluntarily gave up himself to Execution, and the Son stabb'd himself before his Face. To another that begg'd of him to have the Rites of Burial, he said, *That that wou'd soon be at the Disposal of the Ravens.* These bitter Words and rigorous Punishments render'd him both odious as well as terrible to all the Prisoners who were brought before him.

After the *Triumviri* had satisfy'd their Revenge, they thought upon establishing their Authority. *Anthony* undertook to go into *Asia* to raise Money for the Soldiers Rewards in those Provinces that were tributary to the *Romans*; and *Octavius* took upon him to lead the old Troops into *Italy*, to put them in Possession of the Lands that were promis'd 'em. *Anthony* first visited *Greece*, as being the Country where Flattery was manag'd with the greatest Delicacy in the World, was familiarly present at the Conferences of the Philosophers at *Athens*, and made great Presents to that City. Then leaving *Marcus Censorius* to command in *Greece*, he pass'd over into *Asia* with all his Troops. There all the Princes of the

the *East* who acknowledg'd the *Roman* Power, came to make their Court to him, and the faireſt Princeſſes ſtrove to gain his Favour, either by the Charms of their Beauty, or the Magnificence of their Preſents. This Crowd of Sovereigns that daily waited in his Anti-Chamber, with their Praiſes and Submiſſions, did moſt agreeably ſooth his voluptuous and ambitious Temper. He pardon'd all thoſe of *Brutus*'s Party that ſurrender'd themſelves to him, except *Petronius* and *Quintus*; the firſt was charg'd with being one of the Conſpirators, and the other with betraying *Dolabella* in *Laodicea*; but then he took away the Eſtates of ſeveral wealthy Citizens to enrich his Flatterers and Buffoons; and aſſembling the Deputies of all the Subjects and Allies of the *Romans* in thoſe Parts, in a ſet Speech he inſiſted upon *his Neceſſities and their Duties*, and ſo ſqueez'd out of the Inhabitants almoſt all that Money which had been left 'em by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. After which he went a Progreſs all over the Country, where he frequently gave extraordinary Demonſtrations of Generoſity and Good-nature. He pardon'd *Lucius*, Brother to *Caſſius*, and ſeveral other of his Enemies in thoſe Parts; but he ſpar'd none that had a hand in *Cæſar*'s Death, or were of the Number of the Conſpirators; ſo that never any Man's Death was more ſeverely reveng'd than his. *Anthony* then made himſelf Sovereign Judge of the Differences between the Kings of thoſe Countries, as in *Cappadocia* between *Ariarathes* and *Syſenes*, for whom the Beauty of his Mother *Glaphyra* was ſo powerful as to carry the Crown from his Competitor.

But among all thoſe Sovereigns in the *East* which depended upon the *Romans*, none were of ſuch Note as *Cleopatra* Queen of *Ægypt*, whoſe Conduct in theſe laſt Wars had given her good Reaſon to fear *Anthony*: For tho' ſhe had aſſiſted *Dolabella*, yet at the ſame time *Serapion*, her Lieutenant in *Cyprus*, fought

fought for *Caſſius*. This ſhe knew had not at all been pleaſing to the *Triumviri*, conſidering what ſhe ow'd to the Memory of *Julius Cæſar*; eſpecially ſince the Love of that great Man had been ſufficiently known to all the World. Upon which ſhe reſolv'd to meet *Anthony*, and try how much her Wit and Beauty could plead for her, ſince Reaſon could do ſo little; as if ſhe had been reſolv'd to conquer and triumph over the *Romans* in the Perſons of their Generals. For beſides the Addreſſes of *Julius Cæſar*, ſhe had receiv'd thoſe of *Pompey*'s eldeſt Son; ſo that never Beauty was ever ſignaliz'd with more illuſtrious Conqueſts. She had ſuch a high Opinion of her Charms, that ſhe queſtion'd not but to revive the Flame in *Anthony*'s Heart, of which formerly he had given her a Teſtimony in *Ægypt*, when he had ſome Command there. But above all, it was her Wit that moſt ſupported this Aſſurance; for tho' her Perſon was admirable, and the Brightneſs of her Eyes not to be withſtood, yet there were ſome at *Rome* that did not yield to her in the leaſt for Beauty; but none could compare with her for her agreeable Wit, and her charming Converſation, which never fail'd both to pleaſe and to perſuade. Theſe Perfections, beſides her wonderful Accompliſhments in Tongues and Learning, made her reſolve to go in Perſon to *Anthony* in *Cilicia*, who had ſent *Dellius* to cite her to give an Account of her late Conduct.

Never did any Princeſs appear in a more ſingular and magnificent manner than *Cleopatra*: Arriving at the Mouth of the River *Cydnus*, ſhe embark'd in a Veſſel whoſe Stern was of Gold, the Sails of purple Silk, the Oars of Silver, which gently kept time to a Conſort of excellent Muſick. The Queen was laid under a Canopy of rich Cloth of Gold, adorn'd like *Venus* riſing out of the Sea, with lovely Children about her like *Cupids*, fanning her, and her

her Women habited like *Nereids* and *Graces*, leaning negligently on the Sides and Shrouds of the Veſſel: The Sweets that were burning perfum'd the Banks of the River, which were cover'd with an infinite Number of People, who ran thither with ſuch Eagerneſs, that *Anthony*, who was mounted on a Throne to make a ſhew of Majeſty, was left alone, while the Multitude flock'd to the River with extraordinary Delight and Wonder. *Anthony* in Civility deſir'd her to land and ſup with him; but ſhe immediately deſir'd his Company firſt, which he would not deny for fear of appearing ill-bred. He was extremely ſurpriz'd at the Neatneſs and Magnificence of the Entertainment, and with the ingenious placing of the Lights, and many other peculiar Contrivances. The next Day he in his turn would treat her, and endeavour'd to out-go her in Sumptuouſneſs; but he ſoon perceiv'd he was far ſhort of it; whereupon he turn'd all into Mirth and Raillery, which ſhe join'd with, and carry'd on with all the Delicacy and Dexterity imaginable; till at laſt, taking a more ſerious Air in her Diſcourſes, ſhe told him, *That ſhe came not thither to clear her ſelf, but to be recompenc'd for the great Services ſhe had done to him and* Cæſar, *in aſſiſting* Dolabella, *in commanding a Fleet in Perſon in ſpite of* Caſſius *and his Commanders*, with many other Things, which ſhe related with that Artifice and Cunning, and that Wit and Pleaſantry, that *Anthony* could no longer defend his Heart; but from that moment entertain'd a Paſſion for her, which was the Cauſe of all the future Misfortunes of his Life. He was ſo ſtrucken with her, that he left all his former Buſineſs and honourable Employments, and preſently follow'd her into *Ægypt*, where, firſt ſacrificing to her Siſter *Ariſinoe*, he liv'd with her all the following Year in all the Eaſe and Softneſs to which his vicious Temper could prompt him, and all the Delights and Pleaſures

ſures with which that luxurious Nation cou'd furniſh him.

U. C. 713. II. While *Anthony* remain'd thus idle in *Ægypt*, *Octavius* was extremely buſie about ſettling the Affairs of *Italy*, and dividing the Lands for ſatisfying the old Soldiers. This he found very difficult, and not a little dangerous, by reaſon it exaſperated ſo many againſt him; for it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to give up the ſeveral Towns allotted for their Recompence, or elſe to ſatisfie his Soldiers with a proportionable quantity of Money; but that cou'd not be rais'd ſince the Treaſury was ſo much exhauſted. Almoſt all the Inhabitants of the Towns concern'd in this Matter, came in great Multitudes to *Rome*; and vaſt Numbers of Women with Children in their Arms, whoſe tender Years and Innocence drew every ones Compaſſion, daily fill'd the Temples and Publick Places with their Lamentations. The People of *Rome* talk'd very freely and boldly upon this Account, whoſe Complaints and Murmurings *Octavius* bore with all the Diſcretion and Cunning imaginable; firſt borrowing what Money he cou'd; but finding not that ſufficient, he at laſt broke through all Difficulties, and gave his Soldiers Places and Lands for their Inheritance, as he firſt deſign'd. The City of *Cremona* was one that ſuffer'd moſt in this Diſtribution; for being ſo much of *Brutus*'s Party, and *Mantua* by reaſon of her Neighbourhood had more than her Share in theſe Misfortunes, in which the *Muſes* Darling, the greateſt Wit and beſt Poet that ever *Italy* produc'd, had like to have periſh'd. This was the great *Virgil*, who was a Party concern'd in this publick Calamity, for defending the Poſſeſſion of his ſmall Eſtate from *Arrius* the Centurion, and very narrowly eſcap'd Death by ſwimming croſs a River. And 'tis probable that this Adventure moſt of all contributed

ted to his farther Reputation and Advancement, ſince theſe Troubles were the Subject of that excellent Eclogue which was the firſt of his *Bucolicks*, he being now about 28 Years of Age.

The many Diſorders rais'd upon theſe Occaſions, and the frequent Dangers in which *Octavius* was involv'd, gave *Anthony*'s Wife *Fulvia* a fair Occaſion of endeavouring to bring about her Deſigns. Her principal Concern was the bringing back of her Husband, which ſhe believ'd nothing but a War cou'd effect; and therefore ſhe reſolv'd to proſecute thoſe Methods to which her Rage and Jealouſie did then prompt her: *Lucius*, the Brother of *Anthony*, was then Conſul, and to him ſhe principally apply'd her ſelf, who out of Reſpect to her who had been ſo great a Friend to him, and out of a Diſtaſte to many of *Octavius*'s Proceedings, readily comply'd with her. Many plauſible Pretences were made uſe of to make a Breach with *Octavius*, and ſuch cou'd never be wanting in ſuch unſettled and troubleſome Times as thoſe. *Rome* was now in great Miſery, and *Italy* no leſs; Proviſions were extreme dear by reaſon of *Pompey*'s ſtopping all the Paſſages by Sea from abroad, and at home the Troops conſum'd all the Increaſe of the Land, and beſides committed a thouſand Diſorders in the Cities, ſo that all Trading was ruin'd, and the Shops of moſt People ſhut up. *Lucius* made great uſe of theſe Miſchiefs, and *Octavius* us'd all means to quiet the Soldiers, and pacify the Country-People, who were driven from their Poſſeſſions: He heard their Complaints, and promis'd to do 'em Juſtice, which much incens'd *Anthony*'s Soldiers, who were alſo ſtill more and more ſtirr'd up by the Artifices of *Fulvia*. *Cæſar* openly complain'd of her, declaring, *She wholly acted againſt the true Intereſt and Sentiments of her Husband*; but ſhe hearken'd to none but her Friend *Manius*, who perſuaded her, *That nothing but a War cou'd force*

Anthony *from* Cleopatra's *Arms, and bring him into* Italy; and for *Lucius*, he had no other Sentiments but what were influenc'd by theſe two.

Theſe Diſturbances began in Words, Declarations, Manifeſto's, and ſuch like; but ſoon came to an open Breach, notwithſtanding all the Care and Caution of the moſt prudent of both Parties. Many eminent Perſons were engag'd in this War; and in regard that *Lucius* had declar'd againſt the *Triumvirate*, moſt of the ancient Owners of the Lands repair'd to him, and the new Poſſeſſors to *Octavius* and to *Salvidienus*, then coming out of *Gaul*, with a great Power. *Lucius* march'd to oppoſe him, but was diverted by *Agrippa*, one of *Octavius*'s great Friends, and a valiant Soldier. Notwithſtanding the great Caution of *Ventidius* and *Aſinius*, two of *Anthony*'s Commanders, *Lucius* was ſo hemm'd in, and reduc'd to ſuch Straits between *Cæſar* and *Agrippa*, that he was conſtrain'd to retreat to *Peruſia*, a ſtrong City of *Hetruria*, where he was cloſely beſieg'd by *Octavius* and his Party. *Ventidius* and *Aſinius* attempted to relieve the Town; but *Octavius* was ſo well poſted, that they could not effect it, ſo that *Lucius* was in a ſhort time reduc'd to great Extremities for want of Proviſions for ſo numerous a Garriſon. He made ſeveral bold and deſperate Sallies, but with no proportionable Succeſs; till finding his Soldiers reduc'd to the utmoſt Miſeries of Famine, he at laſt came out in Perſon, and giving himſelf up into *Octavius*'s Hands, with great Earneſtneſs interceded for his poor Soldiers, and begg'd, *That his Puniſhment might atone for their Crimes.* *Octavius* receiv'd him very honourably, and with much Generoſity, and all *Lucius*'s Soldiers were pardon'd at the Deſire of *Octavius*'s own Men, who cou'd but pity the Miſeries of their old Companions and Countrymen. The Town was deſign'd to be plunder'd; but one of the chief Inhabitants, call'd *Macedonicus*,

cedonicus, in a great Rage ſet Fire to his Houſe, which conſum'd both himſelf and the whole City. *Ventidius* and the reſt made no Reſiſtance; ſo that this dangerous War was ended in a few Months time, *Pompey* making but ſmall Advantage of it; and *Octavius* return'd to *Rome*, where he enter'd in Triumphant Robes, and crown'd with Laurel. Publick Feaſts were alſo celebrated, and it was ordain'd, *That whenever any General hereafter ſhould merit the Honour of Triumph, and be Crown'd*, Cæſar *ſhould have a Share in his Honour.*

III. During this laſt War, and while *Octavius* was ſettling his own Affairs with all the Skill and Wiſdom of a moſt able Politician, *Anthony* was inglorioufly paſſing away his time at *Alexandria* in the bewitching Company of *Cleopatra*, and there fix'd by the Charms of that Queen; regarding nothing but the Enjoyment of thoſe Pleaſures ſhe every Day preſented him with, in ſome new and delightful Shape. Never had Woman that exquiſite Art of refining and heightning of Pleaſures by the Charms of Novelty that ſhe had; ſhe introduc'd 'em in the moſt ſerious Buſineſs, and even the moſt inconſiderable Trifles, when manag'd by her Skill, receiv'd ſuch an Air as made 'em the moſt agreeable Diverſions: So that whether they play'd, or treated, or hunted, the Queen ſtill made one, and was the Soul of all, by her ingenious intermingling ſome lively Pieces of Wit, or by her unparallel'd Grace in relating ſome pleaſant Adventure. Among the ſeveral ſorts of Diverſions, *Cleopatra* had invented a Society, which ſhe call'd, *The inimitable Life*, and thoſe who made the moſt ſumptuous Entertainments, carry'd away the Prize; which Treats were prodigiouſly expenſive, as appears by ſeveral Examples out of *Plutarch* and others. By all this Variety of Pleaſures and Delights did *Cleopatra* charm this

great Man, inſenſibly carrying him from one Diverſion to another, and entirely gaining the Affections of his Soul; ſo that *Anthony* had almoſt forgot the great Reputation and Glory he had formerly gain'd by his Arms, neglected the Toils and Fatigues of War, and was juſt ready to let his former Glory be ſwallow'd and loſt in the more ſofter Delights of Love.

In theſe Circumſtances was *Anthony* when he receiv'd News, that his Brother had been overthrown by *Octavius*; that his Wife and all his Friends had quitted *Italy*; that *Octavius* had made himſelf Maſter of *Gaul*, which belong'd to him, and had got all the Legions into his Hands which quarter'd there. From another Part he receiv'd Advice, That the *Parthians*, under Command of *Pacorus*, their King's Son, aſſiſted by *Labienus* and *Barzapharnes*, had made themſelves Maſters of *Syria*: That they had likewiſe march'd as far as *Jeruſalem*, which they ſack'd, and carry'd away *Hircanus*, the High-Prieſt, and *Herod*'s Brother, Priſoners, *Herod* himſelf having fled to the Mountains of *Judea*. Theſe Succeſſes, ſo highly diſadvantageous to *Anthony*'s Affairs, now began to rouze him from the Lethargy of his Softneſs, and to make him conſider how much his Actions were like to diſgrace the glorious Name of *Conqueror*; whereupon he gather'd together 200 Ships, and a conſiderable Army, which he had ready in thoſe Parts. His Deſign was immediately to march againſt the *Parthians*; but the earneſt Inſtances of his Wife *Fulvia*, and his Friends, oblig'd him to turn towards *Italy*. He went from *Alexandria* to *Tyre*, from whence paſſing by the Iſles of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, he arriv'd at *Athens*, where he met *Fulvia*. He much blam'd her and his Brother *Lucius* for occaſioning the late Diſorders, and here he underſtood that *Octavius* had lately marry'd *Scribonia*, the Siſter of *Libo*, *Pompey*'s Father-in-law. This *Octavius* did

to

to gain an Alliance with *Pompey*, for the ſake of his Shipping, not forgetting the leaſt thing that might make for his Advantage; and he manag'd all things with that Secreſy, Skill, and Induſtry, that the moſt piercing Judgments could by no means penetrate into the Bottom of this exquiſite Politician's Deſigns.

Anthony ſuſpecting *Octavius*'s Conduct, advanc'd towards *Italy*, without ſhewing the leaſt Concern for *Fulvia*, whom he left ſick at *Sycion*; which laſt Neglect and Scorn finiſh'd what his Infidelity had begun, ſhe dying ſoon after. *Anthony* croſſing the *Ionian* Sea, was there met by *Domitius*, who deliver'd up all his Fleet and Forces to him; from whence they ſail'd to *Brunduſium*, where they were forbidden Entrance by a Garriſon plac'd there by *Octavius*. This made ſuch a Breach between 'em, that *Anthony* immediately block'd up the Place, and likewiſe procur'd *Pompey* from *Sicily* to invade *Italy*. *Octavius* march'd directly to *Brunduſium*, where the old Soldiers being unwilling to fight againſt *Anthony*, the Army endeavour'd all ways to reconcile theſe two great Men, which *Cocceius*, Friend to both, at length with much Labour effected; and *Pollio* on *Anthony*'s ſide, and *Mecænas* on *Octavius*'s, both eminent Perſons, as Delegates, made up this dangerous Breach. All Offences and Affronts were mutually to be forgiven, and a Marriage was propos'd between *Anthony* and *Octavius*'s Half-Siſter *Octavia*, and Widow of *Marcellus*, a Lady of moſt extraordinary Beauty, and as extraordinary Vertues and Accompliſhments. Tho' *Cleopatra* had ſo large a Share in *Anthony*'s Heart, yet he cou'd not without Baſeneſs refuſe a Lady of *Octavia*'s admirable Qualities; and to avoid all preſent Inconveniences, he marry'd her. Then a new Diviſion of the *Roman* Empire was made between theſe Commanders, the Bounds of their Dominions being *Codropolis*, a Town of *Illyricum*, all from that Place

Weſtward being to obey *Octavius*, and all Eaſtward *Anthony*. *Africk* was left to *Lepidus*, whoſe Authority declin'd daily, and who having offended *Octavius*, had been confin'd by him to that Province.

According to this Diviſion, *Anthony* ſent *Ventidius* into *Aſia* againſt the *Parthians*; but the Troubles at Home ſeem'd much greater to both *Anthony* and *Octavius*, who were now entertain'd with the ſad and lamentable Complaints of poor People, ready to ſtarve for want of Proviſions, which *Pompey* hinder'd from coming either from the Eaſt or Weſt, by means of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corſica*, which he had in his Power, and from *Africk* by his Navy alſo, which was then moſt powerful at Sea. *Octavius*, by reaſon of ſome former Affronts, would not be brought to any Accommodation with *Pompey*, notwithſtanding the continual Cries and Prayers of the Multitude, whoſe Rage and Fury at laſt came to that height, that he was nigh being ſton'd by 'em, and *Anthony* too, by coming in to his Aſſiſtance. At laſt both he and *Pompey* were ſo far perſuaded as to come to an Interview; but the latter demanding large Privileges for the Proſcrib'd Perſons, and to be admitted into the Power and Place of *Lepidus*, the Treaty was ineffectual. Yet the preſſing Neceſſities and frequent Mutinies of the People brought 'em together a ſecond time, where, among ſome other Articles, it was concluded, *That* Pompey *ſhou'd retain all the Iſlands he had already, and* Peloponneſus *over and above; that he ſhou'd have the Privilege of demanding the Conſulſhip in his Abſence, and of diſcharging that Office by any of his Friends: That he ſhou'd leave the Sea open, and pay the People what Corn was due out of* Sicily; *and that the* Proſcrib'd *Perſons, except ſuch as were guilty of* Cæſar's *Death, ſhou'd have all their Liberty to return.* And ſo a Peace was concluded, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of all People, which they teſtify'd by many Publick Games and Paſtimes.

IV. And

IV. All Civil Wars were now for a while at an end, and *Octavius* and *Anthony* were about taking the Field againſt Foreigners; but before that time, they nam'd the Conſuls for the four following Years, *Anthony* and *Libo* for the firſt, *Octavius* and *Pompey* for the ſecond, *Domitius* and *Siſius* for the third, and *Anthony* and *Octavius* for the fourth, by which time it was hop'd and diſcours'd that they wou'd reſtore the Liberty of the Commonwealth. *Octavius*, to keep his Soldiers in Military Diſcipline, ſent one Part of his Forces into *Illyricum*, and led the reſt into *Gaul*, where there were ſome Diſturbances. *Anthony* departed for the *Eaſt* againſt the *Parthians*, which War *Ventidius* had manag'd with good Succeſs, having got ſeveral Victories, kill'd ſeveral of their principal Commanders, and repell'd 'em in *Media* and *Meſopotamia*, being the only General that cou'd revenge *Craſſus*'s Death, or that triumph'd over that Nation. *Anthony* there ſettled the Affairs of *Syria*, and made Peace with *Antiochus* King of *Comogena*, who had aſſiſted the *Parthians*; and he got the ſeveral Kings which he had eſtabliſh'd in thoſe Parts, to be confirm'd by Ordinance of the Senate, which were *Darius* in *Pontus*, *Pharnaces* in *Idumæa*, *Herod* in *Judea*, *Amintus* in *Piſidia*, and *Polemon* in *Cilicia*. The City of *Athens* he choſe to paſs the Winter in with *Octavia*, in which Place he intirely gave himſelf over to his Pleaſures and Diverſions, quitting all the Tokens and Marks of his Authority to live like a private Perſon; and in his Court there was no Buſineſs diſcours'd of, but only Learning and Philoſophy. *U. C.* 714.

As for *Pompey*, he ſeem'd for a while to be ſatisfy'd; but as the Treaty between him and *Octavius* only regulated their Pretenſions, not their Ambitions, a Breach was ſoon made again; the Pretences of which was, That *Anthony*, who was oblig'd by

Articles to quit *Peloponneſus*, wou'd not do it till *Pompey* had ſatisfy'd him for ſuch Monies as were due to him from the Inhabitants. *Pompey* wou'd by no means hearken to this, but immediately fitted out a new Fleet, and provided himſelf of Forces, perhaps giving Credit to *Menodorus*, who told him, *That the preſent Settlement of Affairs was no true Peace, but rather a Ceſſation of Arms.* He then renew'd his Cruiſings and Pyracies, which likewiſe renew'd the former Miſeries and Grievances, and made the People cry out, *That the Matter was only chang'd from three Tyrants to four.* But *Menodorus* in a ſhort time revolted to *Cæſar*, bringing in with him *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, and three Legions; and ſoon after *Octavius* put to Sea to invade *Sicily*, but was beaten back by *Pompey*, and was in great danger of his Life; and afterwards his Ships lying at Anchor, were extremely ſhatter'd, and moſt of his Men caſt away. Theſe Misfortunes oblig'd *Octavius* to fortify the Coaſts of *Italy*, leſt *Pompey* ſhou'd attempt an Invaſion, and ſent to *Anthony* for his Aſſiſtance. Tho' he ſeem'd intirely taken up with ſuch important Affairs, he found ſome more agreeable in another Place; and *Livia*, the Wife of *Tiberius*, was the Subject of 'em. The Beauty of this Woman, join'd with her refin'd and dextrous Wit, made a great Impreſſion upon his Heart, which was much alienated from *Scribonia*, whom he divorc'd for her inſupportable Temper; and either by his Intreaties or Authority, he oblig'd *Tiberius* to yield him *Livia*, whom he marry'd, tho' then big with Child, the Prieſts all allowing of it.

U. C. 716. *Anthony* was now arriv'd at *Brunduſium* with 300 Sail, giving out, He came to aſſiſt *Octavius* in this War. *Octavius* having not long before receiv'd the News of *Agrippa*'s quelling the *Gauls*, and having gather'd together a noble Fleet, cou'd willingly have diſpens'd with *Anthony*'s Civility. He thought he was already too powerful, and therefore ſought all

Arts

Arts and Pretences to excuſe his going to meet *Anthony*, which Proceedings did not a little diſpleaſe him, as having been jealous of *Octavius* for a long time. *Anthony* had then particular need of Soldiers to employ againſt the *Parthians*; and willing to ſpare the Charge of a Fleet, he deſign'd *Octavius* ſhou'd take that, and furniſh him with Land-Forces. Whereupon *Octavia* generouſly offer'd to go to her Brother, and clear all Miſunderſtandings, and reconcile all Differences that were like to ariſe, which *Anthony* willingly agreed to. *Cæſar* receiv'd her with a Courteſie ſuitable to the great Affection he had for her, but yet was ſo backward in anſwering her Requeſts, that ſhe publickly addreſs'd her ſelf to his two great Friends *Agrippa* and *Mecœnas*, who had a profound Reſpect for her, both for her great Merits and high Birth. *My Lords*, ſaid ſhe, *you ſee here* Octavia, *a Woman of the greateſt Quality of the World, now ready to be made the moſt miſerable of all her Sex, if your great Care and Wiſdom prevent not theſe Misfortunes. The whole* Roman *People have fix'd their Eyes on me, me the Siſter of* Cæſar, *and Wife of* Anthony; *if my ill Deſtiny ſhou'd bring theſe two to Arms, you have the Chance of Fortune on your ſide; but I muſt fall whoever gains, and be reduc'd to the fatal Neceſſity of loſing a Husband or a Brother.* This moving Argument, join'd with the Affection *Octavius* had for his Siſter, brought him to an Interview with *Anthony*, where extraordinary Civility was ſhewn to each other, all little Differences were accommodated, and Exchange made as *Anthony* deſir'd; and becauſe the time of the *Triumvirate* ſet by the Senate was almoſt expir'd, they prolong'd their Power for five Years more, without ever regarding the Suffrages of the Senate or People. After this, *Anthony* departed once more for *Syria*, leaving *Octavia* in *Italy*, *Octavius* deferring his Expedition into *Sicily* till the following Year.

Octavius determin'd to invade *Sicily* from three ſeveral Quarters; *Lepidus*, who had now join'd him, was to make a Deſcent from *Africk*, *Taurus* from *Tarentum*, and he himſelf from *Puteoli*. *Pompey* was reſolv'd to oppoſe each of theſe Commanders, but at this time there needed not that Care; for *Octavius*'s Fleet was a ſecond time ſhatter'd and diſabled by a Storm, which ſo ſwell'd *Pompey* with Vanity, that he ſtyl'd himſelf *Neptune's Son*. However *Octavius* would not give over his Enterprize; for the ſame Summer having recruited his Forces, and refitted his Navy, he ſent it out under the Command of *Agrippa*, who firſt overthrew *Pompey*'s Fleet, then was again worſted himſelf; yet after that landed 21 Legions, and 2000 Horſe, beſides 5000 Light-arm'd Men. No great or memorable Action happen'd on Land; but *Pompey* ſent to his Enemy to know if he would fight by Sea, much fearing the Land-Forces. *Octavius* accepted of his Offer, and in a general Battel, in which *Agrippa* perform'd great Acts, finally defeated him, having ſunk 28 of his Veſſels. The reſt were either taken or broken, ſeventeen only eſcap'd; and at the ſight of this great Overthrow, all *Pompey*'s Land-Forces ſurrender'd themſelves to *Octavius*, ſo that with his ſeventeen Veſſels he fled to *Anthony* in *Syria*, from whom he expected Protection, in requital of what he had formerly given to his Mother *Julia*. *Meſſæna* ſtill held out for *Pompey*; but the Garriſon at laſt yielded to *Lepidus*, and that brought all *Sicily* into Subjection.

This Victory, tho' ſo advantageous to *Octavius*, prov'd the Ruin of *Lepidus*, who now having got 22 Legions under his Command, and a ſtrong Body of Cavalry, pleas'd himſelf with the ambitious Thoughts of getting all *Sicily* into his Hands, to which he pretended a Right, as firſt invaded by him. Whereupon *Octavius* ſent to him to complain of his Proceedings; to whom *Lepidus* fiercely reply'd, *That* Cæſar

Cæſar *had taken upon him all the Authority of the* Triumvirate, *when he had as much Right to it as himſelf.* At this *Octavius* with great Boldneſs went alone to *Lepidus*'s Camp, with no other Aſſiſtance than that of his own Merit, and the Authority he had gain'd by his Victories. The Soldiers of *Pompey* look'd upon him with great Reſpect, and drew round about him; which *Lepidus* perceiving, he haſten'd thither, and made ſome of his Men charge *Octavius*, who preſently receiv'd a Hurt by a Dart. Yet *Octavius*, with a great Preſence of Mind, went directly to the Place where the Eagles of the Legions were planted, and taking one of 'em, he advanc'd it in the Air; whereupon all the Legionary Soldiers ran in Crouds, and ſaluted him as their General. *Lepidus* being thus abandon'd by his Soldiers, quitted all the Marks of his Authority which he cou'd no longer keep, took deep Mourning, and came and threw himſelf at *Octavius*'s Feet. *Octavius* was much mov'd at this mortifying Spectacle, to ſee a *Triumvir*, who had diſpos'd of the Lives of many noble Perſons, reduc'd to beg his own; but he deſpis'd him too much to take his Life; and tho' his Soldiers would have kill'd him, he ſav'd him, but turn'd him out of all his Authority and Power, except that of *Pontifex Maximus*, and baniſhed him to *Circæum*.

Thus fell one Head of the *Triumvirate*, and their Authority, without any Competitor, came wholly into the Hands of *Octavius* and *Anthony*; which Authority became almoſt indiſputable by the Death of *Pompey*, who was ſhortly after ſlain by *Anthony*'s Order in *Phrygia*, having firſt made ſeveral Commotions in thoſe Parts. So that all Civil Wars were for a while ended in the *Roman* State, which fell out in the 718th Year of the City, and the 7th of the Second *Triumvirate*, about 8 Years after *Julius Cæſar's* Death, and 34 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

From the Baniſhment of Lepidus, *to the Death of* Anthony; *which made Way for* Octavius's *Abſolute Authority, and was the laſt Step to the* Imperial State.

Containing the Space of ſix Years.

U. C. 718. I. ROME now began to take Breath after ſo many Domeſtick Broils, and *Octavius* was receiv'd at the City with a general Joy, the Senators met him at the Gates, and conducted him to the *Capitol*, follow'd by all the People, crown'd with Garlands of Flowers; where, after he had given Thanks to the Gods, they waited on him to his Palace. *Octavius* now thought of nothing ſo much as the gaining the Hearts and Inclinations of the People, and he much endeavour'd to reſtore the publick Peace of the City, which had of late been much diſturb'd by Thieves and Robbers. For that End he order'd *Sabinus*, with his Troops, to purſue and bring to Puniſhment all ſuch as might be found in *Italy* and *Sicily*, and likewiſe eſtabliſh'd at *Rome* ſome Companies for the Guard of the City. This, and many other Things, he executed with ſuch great Diligence and Dexterity, that the *Romans* began to have an extraordinary Veneration for a Man who had ſuch a ſurprizing Underſtanding at ſo ſmall an Age. Some Cities of *Italy* proceeded even to the erecting Altars to him, eſpecially after one generous Act he did. He had among *Pompey*'s Papers a great Number

Number of Letters and Memoirs of the chief Senators, enough to occaſion many new Diſturbances. Theſe he brought into the *Forum*, and before all the People threw 'em into the Fire, proteſting, *That he there ſacrific'd all his private Reſentments to the Good of the Commonwealth, and deſign'd to give up his Authority as ſoon as* Anthony *ſhould return from the* Parthian *Expedition.* The People applauded him beyond Example; and to ſhew that they ever deſir'd to obey him, they choſe him *Tribune* for his Life; and by this they likewiſe thought to oblige him to quit the odious Dignity of *Triumvir*. *Octavius* willingly accepted of the perpetual *Tribuneſhip*, but deferr'd the Suppreſſion of the *Triumvirate* till *Anthony*'s Return, and ſent *Bibulus* to communicate his Deſign to him; and after he had diſpos'd of the Government of the Provinces, he march'd againſt the *Illyrians*.

It was believ'd, that the Death of *Pompey* wou'd have eſtabliſh'd a Peace through all the World; eſpecially ſince *Anthony* and *Octavius* might, in the Extent and Riches of the *Roman* Empire, have found all that cou'd be deſir'd for the ſatisfying their Ambition: But the ſecret Hatred between theſe two, which broke out upon all publick Occaſions, now began to raiſe new Commotions in the *Roman* State. The Paſſion of *Anthony* for *Cleopatra*, and the extravagant Preſents of whole Provinces which he made her, ſerv'd *Octavius* for a plauſible Pretence to renew the War, and free himſelf from a Competitor ſo formidable both for his Valour, and his Reputation among the Soldiers. *Anthony* had now call'd *Cleopatra* into *Syria*, and there gave her all *Phœnicia*, *Cœlo-Syria*, and *Cyprus*, with a great part of *Cilicia*, *Arabia* and *Judæa*; which much diſpleas'd the *Roman* People, who daily publiſh'd ſcurrilous Diſcourſes of *Anthony*'s Prodigality. *Anthony* being inform'd of theſe Libels by his Friends from *Rome*, immediately publiſh'd an Apology, wherein he affirm'd, *That* U. C. 719.

That the Grandeur of the Roman *Empire was never ſo conſpicuous for the Conqueſts made, as for the Liberality practis'd in beſtowing the conquer'd Provinces: That true Nobility was enlarg'd and multiply'd by the numerous Poſterity that Sovereign Princes left in ſeveral Parts of the World; and that was the Motive that induc'd* Hercules, *from whom he deriv'd his Birth, not to ſubject himſelf to the ſingle tye of one Wife, but to leave the Foundation of ſeveral illuſtrious Races in all Parts, where he extended his glorious Conqueſts.* Theſe falſe Reaſonings, which were deſign'd to juſtify his Paſſion, prov'd more injurious to him, and made him appear odious to the *Romans*, who made Profeſſion of a much ſtricter Morality.

Anthony beſides had march'd againſt the *Parthians* with a mighty Power, which made the *Eaſt* tremble, but with very ill Succeſs; for at the beginning the Enemy ſlew one of his Lieutenants, and entirely defeated two Legions, and even he himſelf was reduc'd to ſuch Extremities, that he often deſpair'd of his own Safety. At laſt, after the loſs of the fourth part of his Troops, and all his Baggage, he ſav'd himſelf in *Armenia*, by the Advice of a *Roman* who had been Priſoner among the *Parthians* ever ſince the Death of *Craſſus*. Tho' *Anthony* in this War behav'd himſelf with his uſual Bravery, yet the great Loſs and ſhameful Retreat of ſuch a General as he, who in all probability was once able to have conquer'd his Enemies, extremely diminiſh'd his former Reputation: And what was ſtill more diſadvantageous to him, was the general Belief that theſe Misfortunes were owing to his Paſſion for *Cleopatra*, which had caus'd him to take no Meaſures aright, but ſuch as ſhou'd haſten his Return to her. But what principally enrag'd the *Romans*, was, the taking *Artabazus*, King of *Armenia*, whom *Anthony* led in Triumph into *Alexandria*. This *Rome* could by no means bear, that a *Roman* General ſhould impart

impart ſuch a peculiar Honour to a Foreign Nation, and that ſhe ſhou'd be depriv'd of the Glory of inſulting over vanquiſh'd Kings, which for ſo many Years ſhe had enjoy'd. All theſe Faults of *Anthony*, *Cæſar* made advantage of, and above all exaggerated the little Value he had for his Country: And when he found the People ſufficiently exaſperated againſt him, he reſolv'd to ſend *Octavia* to her Huſband, that he might have a plauſible Pretence to declare War againſt him, if he ſhou'd offer her the Affront of ſending her back without ſeeing her.

Anthony was now at *Leucopolis*, between *Tyre* and *Sidon*, where he ſtaid with an Impatience he was not able to conceal, frequently leaving the Table to run to the Sea-ſide himſelf, to ſee if the Queen were coming. At laſt ſhe came with great Quantity of Cloathing for her Soldiers, and a vaſt Sum of Money; at leaſt *Anthony* gave her the Honour of it when he diſtributed it. Almoſt at the ſame time *Niger* arriv'd from *Octavia*, who ſtaid at *Athens*, from whence ſhe ſent her Husband word that ſhe had brought him Clothes and Arms, Horſes and Preſents for his Officers, and 2000 choſen Soldiers well arm'd. This was very unwelcome News to *Cleopatra*, who fearing ſhe cou'd not prevail againſt ſo powerful a Rival when ſhe appear'd, immediately feign'd a deep Melancholy, abſtaining from Food to make her ſelf lean; and when ſhe was near *Anthony*, ſhe beheld him with languiſhing Eyes, and a deſpairing Countenance, like one beſides her ſelf with Love: She let fall Tears in his Preſence, and turn'd away her Face, as if ſhe deſir'd to hide from him thoſe Marks of her Grief. Theſe Artifices, together with the ſmooth and cunning Flatteries of *Cleopatra*'s Friends, prevail'd ſo much upon *Anthony*'s Weakneſs, that they quite turn'd his Thoughts in favour of his Miſtreſs. He broke off his honourable Enterprize againſt the *Parthians*, notwithſtanding

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ing all the Inſtances of the King of *Media*, who offer'd to join with him, and oppoſe that People with his Cavalry, accuſtom'd to their way of fighting. He only contented himſelf to make a Match between one of his Sons he had by *Cleopatra*, and a Daughter of that King; and after he had ſent to *Octavia*, to return to *Rome*, he waited on *Cleopatra* to *Ægypt*.

Here *Anthony* began to ſhew himſelf more luxurious and extravagant than ever, erecting a ſtately Throne of Silver in the moſt publick Place in *Alexandria*, upon which were two Seats of Gold, one for himſelf, and the other for *Cleopatra*. There *Anthony* dreſs'd like *Bacchus*, and *Cleopatra* like *Iſis*, were ſeated; and in the Preſence of all the People he declar'd her Queen of *Ægypt*, *Cyprus*, *Lydia*, and Lower *Syria*, aſſociating with her *Cæſario*, the Son ſhe had by *Julius Cæſar*. To the Children he had by her he gave the Title of *King of Kings*; and for their Dominions, to *Alexander* the eldeſt he allotted *Armenia*, *Media*, and *Parthia*, which he pretended he wou'd conquer in a little time; and to *Ptolemy* the younger, *Phœnicia*, Uyper *Syria*, and *Cilicia*; and all things were perform'd with the greateſt Pomp and Solemnity imaginable. *Anthony* was ſtill carry'd away with new Pleaſures and Delights by *Cleopatra*, and the Delicacy and Profuſeneſs of their Treats ſtill daily increas'd, till at laſt the Queen promis'd him upon a Wager to give him a Treat of 60000 Pound Value of our Money. In this Treat was ſerv'd up a Golden Cup with a very ſtrong diſſolving Vinegar, in which *Cleopatra* put one of her Pendants, which was a Pearl of an ineſtimable Value, and immediately drank it off. *Plancus*, who was to judge of the Wager, immediately ſecur'd the other Pendant which ſhe was then taking off, and gave Judgment that ſhe had already won the Wager; and *Anthony* himſelf was extremely troubled for the Loſs

of

of ſuch a Jewel. The remaining Pearl, after the Death of *Cleopatra*, came into the Hands of *Cæſar*, who caus'd it to be cut aſunder, and made it into two Pendants for the Image of *Venus*, which he thought glorioufly adorn'd with half of this prodigal Queen's Supper.

II. *Octavius* was now much provok'd by *Anthony's* Actions, eſpecially at his affronting his Siſter, and made Report of all his Practices to the Senate, who began to have a far leſs Eſteem for *Anthony* than ever. *Octavia* us'd her utmoſt Endeavours to reconcile theſe two, alledging, *That her Intereſt ought not to oblige* Cæſar *to declare himſelf* Anthony's *Enemy, ſince it wou'd be a ſhameful thing to have it reported in future Ages, that the Love of one Woman, and the Jealouſy of another, had caus'd the two Governors of the greateſt Empire of the World to plunge it into the Miſeries of a Civil War.* Her great Generoſity, her mild Behaviour, together with the Love and Reſpect to her Husband, ſtill further incens'd the People againſt *Anthony*, for his ill Uſage of a Lady of that extraordinary Merit. *Octavius* at laſt reſolv'd to declare War againſt *Anthony*, but deferr'd for a while, being employ'd all this Year againſt ſeveral People of *Illyricum*; at which ſame time *Anthony* alſo left *Ægypt*, and went into *Media*, where he enter'd into a League with that King. *U. C.* 720.

The following Year *Octavius* chiefly employ'd in Preparations againſt *Anthony*, who was now ſo ſenſible of *Octavius's* Deſigns, that he ſent to *Rome* to complain of *Octavius's* Conduct, alledging, *That he had ſeiz'd upon* Sicily, *without affording him a Share; that he had diſpoſſeſs'd* Lepidus, *and kept all his Governments to himſelf; and that he had divided all* Italy *among his own Soldiers, and reſerv'd nothing for his in* Aſia. *Octavius* made Anſwer to theſe Accuſations, *That* Lepidus's *Conduct had oblig'd him to remove him; that as for*

the Conqueſt he had made, Anthony *ſhou'd have a Share, when he had divided* Armenia *which he had conquer'd; and as for* Anthony's *Soldiers, that it was not likely that they wou'd value a few pitiful Lands in* Italy, *after they had conquer'd all* Media *and the Empire of the* Parthians, *by the mighty Exploits they had done in following their General.* *Anthony* was ſo enrag'd at this Jeer, that he order'd *Canidius*, who commanded his Army, to march without Intermiſſion with 16 Legions to paſs over into *Europe*, and he himſelf with *Cleopatra* came to *Epheſus*, where his Lieutenants had gather'd together 800 Veſſels, of which *Cleopatra* furniſh'd 200 with 20000 Talents, and Proviſions for all his Forces. *Anthony*, by the Advice of *Domitius*, reſolv'd to ſend back *Cleopatra* into *Ægypt* till the War was ended; but ſhe fearing leſt *Octavia* ſhould take an Advantage of her Abſence, and make her Peace, by large Preſents gain'd *Canidius* to repreſent to *Anthony* a great Number of Inconveniences that her Departure wou'd occaſion; particularly, *the depriving him of the Aſſiſtance of the* Ægyptians, *who were the beſt Part of his Navy.* Theſe Counſels, and her own cunning Inſinuations, ſo far prevail'd upon *Anthony*'s deprav'd Temper, that he conſented to her Stay.

Anthony and *Cleopatra* went both to *Samos*, where, for Preparation for ſo great an Enterprize, they began with all the Diverſions and Pleaſures that cou'd be invented. Never were any Man's Cares ſo pleaſantly divided as *Anthony*'s; on one ſide all the Kings, Princes, and Potentates from *Ægypt* to the *Euxine Sea*, and from *Armenia* to *Illyricum*, had Orders to ſend Arms, Proviſions and Soldiers to *Samos*; on the other, all the Comedians, Dancers, Muſicians, and Buffoons, were oblig'd to repair to this Iſle: So that frequently when a Ship was thought to come laden with Soldiers, Arms and Ammunition, it prov'd to be full of Players, Scenes and Machines; and

and while all the reſt of the World was in extreme Miſery and Deſolation, Joy and all kind of Pleaſure reign'd here, as if they had all made choice of this Place to retire to. But how magnificent ſoever their Entertainments were, *Anthony*'s Fear and Jealouſie had ſo ſower'd his Temper, that he began to ſuſpect *Cleopatra* her ſelf, and wou'd eat nothing without a Taſter. But *Cleopatra*, by her dextrous Management, by ſeveral Inſtances ſoon let him ſee, *That he cou'd have no Guard againſt her Addreſs, were not her Heart intereſs'd in his Preſervation*; which made *Anthony* leave off his troubleſome Precautions, which he found uſeleſs againſt the Arts of a Woman, who cou'd ſo skilfully mingle inevitable Snares of Death among her Pleaſures. Every City of *Anthony*'s Empire had a Share in his Sacrifices, and ſent an Ox thither to be offer'd, and the Kings who accompany'd him contended who ſhou'd make the nobleſt Entertainments, ſo that it gave Occaſion to one to ask, *What Rejoycings they would make for a Victory, who made ſuch magnificent Treats before a dangerous War?*

The Stay *Anthony* made at *Samos* was very favourable to *Octavius*, who cou'd make but ſmall Proviſion for War, by reaſon of the Diſcontents of all the *Italian* Cities, occaſion'd by the ſevere Impoſitions laid upon 'em, and augmented by the News of *Anthony*'s Approach with ſuch formidable Forces. But when they ſaw that *Anthony*'s Preparations ſerv'd chiefly to fill the Publick Places and Theatres of *Samos*, *Octavius* found Means to appeaſe 'em, and to put himſelf in a Poſture of diſputing the Empire with Forces equal to his Enemies. Still *Anthony* began to grow more odious to the *Roman* People, for having brought *Cleopatra* to *Athens*, and there honouring her beyond any Mortal before her, he ſent to *Rome* with Orders to *Octavia* to leave his Houſe, with all her Children. *Octavia* readily obey'd theſe unjuſt

Orders, without murmuring, only lamenting her hard Fate, *becauſe ſhe was made to ſerve for a Pretence to a War, whoſe Conſequences muſt needs be fatal to her.* Several of *Anthony*'s Friends not being able any longer to bear with his Diſorders, abandon'd him, and *Octavius* having got *Anthony*'s Will into his Hands, found new Matter to complain of to the Senate and People, which was *Anthony*'s ordering, *That if he dy'd in* Rome, *his Body ſhou'd be carry'd in Funeral Pomp through the principal Places of the City, and then ſent into* Ægypt *to* Cleopatra. To this a Report was added, *That* Anthony *deſign'd to give* Rome *to* Cleopatra, *if his Arms were proſperous, and to transfer the Seat of the Empire into* Ægypt; ſo that notwithſtanding all the Care of the more prudent ſort, and all their Endeavours to reconcile theſe two great Men, it plainly appear'd that nothing but the Sword cou'd decide the preſent Controverſy.

U. C. 722. III. As ſoon as *Octavius* found himſelf in a good Condition to carry on the War, he publickly proclaim'd it againſt *Cleopatra*, and diveſted *Anthony* of his Authority, which he had in a manner already parted with in favour of that Princeſs. The Decree imply'd beſides, *That* Anthony *was now no longer Maſter of his own Will, ſince* Cleopatra, *with her Philtres, had taken away the uſe of his Reaſon; ſo that he was not to be eſteem'd as a Perſon engag'd in this War, which was only manag'd by* Mardicon *her Eunuch, and* Iras *and* Charmia *her Women, who were all his Governors.* All *Anthony*'s Followers were invited over with great Promiſes of Rewards, but not declar'd Enemies, partly to prevent their growing deſperate, and partly to render *Anthony* more inexcuſable in making War againſt his Country, only for the ſake of an *Ægyptian* Woman. The Forces of theſe two Generals were anſwerable to the Empire they contended for, one drawing all the *Eaſt*, and the other the *Weſt* to his Party.

Party. All the ſeveral Kings of *Aſia* that were Allies of the *Romans*, follow'd the Fortune of *Anthony*; ſome by their Perſons, and others by their Troops alone; all which, with *Anthony*'s Forces, compos'd an Army of 100000 Foot and 12000 Horſe, and his Fleet conſiſted of 500 Ships of War, whereof many were of the largeſt Bulk. *Octavius* in his Party had no Foreign Princes, and his Army amounted to no more than 80000 Foot, but was as ſtrong in Cavalry as his Enemies: In his Fleet were 250 Veſſels, but all light, better Mann'd, and more convenient than *Anthony*'s. This Year, by reaſon of *Anthony*'s recalling his Troops out of *Media* from the Protection of that Country, the *Parthians* became Maſters of it, and *Armenia* was likewiſe loſt.

The two great Men being now in readineſs for Action, they firſt began to ſhew their Hatred by reflecting Letters; and when *Octavius* reproach'd *Anthony* with his Love to *Cleopatra*, and the Prodigality of his Feaſts, he, on the other ſide, put him in mind *of the famous Feaſts of the Twelve Gods, where he and his other Gueſts repreſented the Deities they ador'd.* To which he added, *his prepoſterous Match with* Livia, *and his infamous Divorce of* Scribonia, *for not bearing the Inſolence of that new Miſtreſs*; and all the *Roman* Ladies that *Octavius* had any great Familiarity with, were brought upon the Stage. He proceeded likewiſe to tax *Octavius with Cowardice at the Battels of* Mutina *and* Sicily; whereupon *Octavius* wrote to him, *That it was childiſh to fight any longer with the Pen; but if he wou'd approach at the Head of his Army, he ſhou'd have Ports in* Italy *to land without Moleſtation; that he wou'd draw his Troops ſo far from the Sea, that* Anthony *ſhou'd want no room for Encamping, and putting his Men in Battalia.* To make Return to this Bravade, *Anthony*, tho' he were much the older, challeng'd *Octavius to fight a ſingle Combat, or if he* U. C. 723.

pleas'd, he wou'd give him Battel in the Plains of Pharſalia, *where the great* Cæſar *and* Pompey *had formerly decided their famous Differences. Anthony* was now at *Actium*, a Town on the Coaſts of *Epirus*, at the Entrance of the Gulph of *Ambracia*; and while he lay there without Action, *Octavius* paſs'd over from *Brunduſium*, and ſurpriz'd *Toryne*, a City nigh *Actium*. This Exploit amaz'd *Anthony*'s Soldiers, becauſe his Legions were not yet arriv'd; but *Cleopatra*, to re-aſſume them, made ſlight of it, and in a jeſting Way ſaid, *What Damage is it for* Octavius *to take the* Scummer? alluding to the Word *Toryne*, which ſignifies *a Scummer*; as if the Danger had been no greater than the taking of a Dinner.

Anthony had brought all his Ships into the Gulph, whither *Octavius* the next Day after the taking of *Toryne* came forward, and offer'd him Battel. *Anthony*'s Veſſe'ls were very ill mann'd; however he drew 'em into a fighting Poſture, with their Oars a-peek, as if he intended to bear down upon the Enemy; but *Octavius* durſt not engage him in that narrow Paſſage, and therefore ſtood off to Sea; the other refus'd to follow; but as he perfectly knew the Country thereabouts, he cut off the Water from *Octavius*'s Camp on every ſide, which much diſtreſs'd his Army. But the Succeſs of *Agrippa*, in taking *Leucadia*, *Petras*, and *Corinth*, about this time, much reviv'd the Soldiers, and likewiſe occaſion'd *Amintas*, *Deiotarus*, and *Domitius*, to go over to *Octavius*. To the latter of theſe, *Anthony*, according to his natural Generoſity, ſent his People and all his Equipage, which ſo ſenſibly touch'd *Domitius*, who was ſick already, that he was not able to out-live the Grief of abandoning a Man who thus by Kindneſs only had reveng'd his Perfidiouſneſs. In the mean time *Canidius* arriv'd with the Legions, who now began to change his Mind concerning *Cleopatra*, deſiring *Anthony, to ſend her back, and go himſelf into* Macedonia,

nia, *where he might fight by Land with ſo much more Advantage, becauſe* Dicomes, *King of the* Getes, *had promiſed him a powerful Aſſiſtance.* He farther told *Anthony, That it wou'd be a renouncing both Senſe and Reaſon to put a Victory to the Hazard of the Seas and Winds, which they were certain of at Land, by the Valour and Experience of their General, who, to this Day, had kept up the Title of* Invincible, *and by the Hearts and Courages of their Soldiers, who had been try'd in ſo many great Dangers. Anthony* was much inclin'd to follow this Advice; but *Cleopatra*, whoſe Words were Oracles, byaſs'd him the other way, and oblig'd him againſt his Will to hazard both his Empire and Life in a Sea-Fight; and this, only that ſhe might eſcape with more Eaſe, if *Anthony* ſhould loſe the Day.

Anthony had now reſolv'd to fight by Sea, and while he was putting his Fleet in Order of Battel, a brave old Soldier, all cover'd with Scars, ſpoke thus to him aloud; *My noble General, do you deſpiſe this good Sword, and this old Arm, which all my Wounds cou'd ne'er yet weaken, that you ſhou'd put your Confidence in little Boats and rotten Wood? Leave the Water to the* Ægyptians *and* Phœnicians, *People born and nurs'd up in that Element, but leave us* Romans *to the firm Land, where we may boldly meet Death, and fall like Men. Anthony* anſwer'd nothing, only by the Motion of his Head ſeem'd to encourage him, tho' he himſelf was not well ſatisfy'd; for when his Officers propos'd taking away the Sails, he oppos'd it, alledging, *That he wou'd have none of the Enemy eſcape.* That Day, and the three following, the Sea was ſo rough, they cou'd not engage; but on the fifth, the two Fleets advanc'd towards each other in good Order. *Anthony* in his Brigantine went about encouraging his Men with the Remembrance of the many Victories they had gain'd under his Conduct, telling 'em beſides, *That the Largeneſs of their Veſſels gave 'em Opportunity of fighting as firmly, and with as much Aſſurance as on dry*

Land; and that this Day as he expected the Empire of the World from their Valour, ſo they might expect Rewards anſwerable to ſo noble a Conqueſt. *Octavius* on his ſide gave no leſs Hopes to his Soldiers, eſpecially ſince they ſeem'd fearful of the Enemy's Fleet; and among other things ſaid, *The Enemy's Veſſels are laden indeed, but not mann'd; and if they exceed us in Multitudes of Men, we ſurpaſs them in Number of Soldiers. Be therefore now, as ye have ever been, Conquerors; to ſpeak more were to detain you from Victory, only call to mind your ancient Valour; and remember that I am* Cæſar, *and you* Romans.

It was both a noble and a terrible Sight, to ſee the Shore on one Side o'erſpread with 200000 fighting Men, and the Sea cover'd on the other with an incredible Number of Veſſels fill'd with Soldiers. Nor was the Battel leſs remarkable, which began on both Sides with great Courage and Bravery, and ſo continu'd for a conſiderable time; when *Cleopatra*, weary'd with Expectation, or overcome with Fear, unexpectedly tack'd about, and fled towards *Peloponneſus* with ſixty Sail. And what was ſtill more ſurprizing, *Anthony* himſelf, who had formerly ſhewn ſo many eminent Marks of his Valour, now forgot the Care of his Honour and Safety, and fled after her, playing the part of a cowardly Soldier, while each of his Soldiers perform'd the Office of a courageous General. Thus *Anthony* abandon'd his Men that ſo generouſly expos'd their Lives for his Intereſt; and getting into *Cleopatra*'s Galley, he ſat for a long time by himſelf in a confus'd melancholy Poſture, without ſo much as ſeeing the Queen, tho' he had follow'd her without any apparent Reaſon but the Thoughts of her Abſence. The Battel, notwithſtanding, continu'd with great Obſtinacy till five in the Evening, when *Anthony*'s Forces were partly conſtrain'd by the great Conduct of *Agrippa*, and partly perſuaded by the obliging Promiſes of *Octavius*,

Octavius, to ſubmit; and herein *Octavius*'s Clemency did much efface the Memory of the Battel of *Philippi*, and the cruel Proſcriptions of the *Triumvirate*. The Conſequence of this Victory was very advantageous to *Octavius*; for all *Anthony*'s Land-Forces, tho' very firm and reſolute for ſome time, were in a little time after very willing to accept of ſuch Conditions as *Octavius* offer'd, and upon that all yielded to him, *Octavius* generouſly ſparing all but a very ſmall Number, who in a more particular manner were his declar'd Enemies.

Anthony now was carry'd away with melancholy Reflections and deſpairing Thoughts, and through Shame or Anger refus'd to ſee *Cleopatra* for ſeveral Days together; till arriving at *Tenarus*, her Women ſo beſtirr'd themſelves, that they brought 'em to ſee one another, and to eat together. Here News was brought him by ſeveral of his Friends of the Defeat of his Fleet; but not ſuſpecting the Revolt of his Army, he wrote to *Canidius* to retreat through *Macedonia*, and return to *Aſia*, and took what Care he cou'd for the Safety of his Friends that were about him, offering 'em what Money he had, and commanding 'em to leave him. After this he retir'd to *Africk*, from whence he ſent *Cleopatra* into *Ægypt*, and remain'd almoſt alone, without any other Company than *Ariſtocrates* and *Lucilius*; one a *Greek*, and the other a *Roman*, both excellent Orators. Here *Anthony* heard of the Revolt of his Land-Forces, which put him into ſuch a violent Rage and Deſpair, that he attempted to kill himſelf; but was hinder'd from that fatal Reſolution by the Prayers and Remonſtrances of his Friends, who perſwaded him to return to *Alexandria*, where he found *Cleopatra* about an Enterprize that well ſhew'd the Greatneſs of her Spirit. This Queen had drawn her Galleys upon Carriages for 100 Mile over that Neck of Land which joins *Aſia* to *Africa*, to the *Red Sea*; where ſhe deſign'd to embark her

ſelf

ſelf with all her Treaſure, and her choiceſt Friends, and plant her ſelf in ſome remote Part of the World. But the *Arabians* ſoon forc'd her to abandon that Deſign, and thereupon ſhe apply'd her ſelf to fortify the Avenues of her Kingdom, which were of very difficult Acceſs. *Anthony*'s Behaviour was very different, ſhewing nothing but a ſhameful Weakneſs: He ſhunn'd all Company, and built a Houſe near the *Pharos*, where he ſhut himſelf up without either Friends or Domeſticks, *to imitate* Timon, as he ſaid, *ſince he had no leſs Reaſon to hate Mankind than that* Athenian, *being betray'd by thoſe whom he had moſt oblig'd.* But he cou'd not long force his natural Temper; and therefore, as Debauching is a great Relief to People of his Humour, he quitted his Cell in a little time, and apply'd himſelf wholly to Feaſting and Luxury, and many ſorts of Extravagancies.

U. C. 724. IV. *Octavius* was now in *Italy*, whither he was recall'd by *Agrippa*'s Letters, after he had paſs'd one part of the Winter in *Athens*, and the other at *Samos*. The Occaſion of his Return into *Italy* was the Mutiny of his Soldiers which he had ſent to *Brunduſium* after the Victory, who, after their uſual Cuſtom, had demanded their Rewards and their Diſcharge. *Octavius* ſtay'd at *Brunduſium* but a ſhort time, only while he appeas'd his Soldiers, and gave all neceſſary Orders; after which with his Fleet he ſail'd into *Syria*, while his Army march'd along the Coaſts of *Africk* to attack *Ægypt* on the other ſide. All the Kings of *Aſia*, Allies to the *Romans*, came to aſſure him of their Obedience; and none appear'd more forward than *Herod* King of *Judæa*, who went as far as *Rhodes* to lay his Crown at *Octavius*'s Feet, and offer'd him both his Perſon and his Troops. This Prince was one of *Anthony*'s greateſt Friends, and for that Reaſon he had ſo little Hopes of

of the Succeſs of his Voyage, and in purſuance of his natural Bent to Cruelty, he left Order with two of his Confidents to put his Wife *Mariamne* to Death, whom he paſſionately lov'd, in caſe he ſhou'd miſcarry. This Secret was reveal'd to *Mariamne* by one of his Inſtruments; and *Herod* being reproach'd with it at his Return, caus'd the Death of this unfortunate Princeſs, who for her admirable Beauty, and her noble Race from that of the *Maccabees*, deſerv'd a better Fate. *Octavius*, to give a famous Inſtance of his Clemency, pardon'd *Herod*, gave him his Crown, and receiv'd him into Favour; but wou'd not ſpare *Alexas* the *Syrian*, who had been *Anthony*'s greateſt Flatterer, and afterwards a moſt perfidious Traytor to him.

Anthony and *Cleopatra* ſeeing themſelves abandon'd by all their Allies, reſolv'd at laſt to ſend *Euphronius*, their Children's Tutor, to make ſome Propoſals to *Octavius*. *Cleopatra* privately ſent a Golden Crown and Sceptre, with a Royal Seat, to *Octavius*, asking the Kingdom of *Ægypt* for her Children; and *Anthony* only deſir'd he might live as a private Man at *Athens*, if *Octavius* was not willing he ſhould tarry ſtill in *Ægypt*. He abſolutely rejected *Anthony*'s Propoſitions, but ſent to *Cleopatra*, *That there was no manner of Favour which ſhe might not reaſonably expect, if ſhe wou'd either put* Anthony *to Death, or Baniſh him.* With this Anſwer *Eupronius* return'd, and with him *Thyreus*, a Freed-Man of *Octavius*'s, a Perſon very cunning, and fit to manage any Intrigue; who coming with a Meſſage from a young Emperor to an ambitious Princeſs, poſſeſs'd with a mighty Opinion of her own Charms, had no difficult Acceſs to her. But theſe ſecret Conferences between *Cleopatra* and him, and the Honours ſhe did him, threw *Anthony* into ſuch a furious Paſſion of Jealouſie, that he immediately order'd him to be cruelly ſcourg'd, and in that Condition ſent him to

Octa-

Octavius with Letters, *That he had chaſtiz'd* Thyreus *for inſulting over him at a time when his bad Fortune had put him into an ill Humour; but if this Proceeding offended him, he had his Freed-Man* Hipparchus *by him, whom he might uſe after the ſame manner, and ſo be upon equal Terms:* Which was a pleaſant way of being reveng'd upon *Hipparchus*, the firſt of *Anthony*'s Freed-Men that went over to *Cæſar*. *Cleopatra* omitted nothing to clear *Anthony*'s Mind of Jealouſy and Suſpicion; ſhe redoubled her Fondneſs and Careſſes; and when her Birth-day came, ſhe kept it as was ſuitable to their deplorable Condition; but *Anthony*'s was obſerv'd with great Splendor and Magnificence, ſo that all the Gueſts were enrich'd by the noble Preſents ſhe made upon his Account.

In the mean time *Octavius* having gather'd all his Forces together, ſurpriz'd the City of *Peluſium*, which was ſurrender'd to him by *Seleucus*; and it was immediately reported, that this Governor had done it by *Cleopatra*'s Order; but ſhe, to clear her ſelf, deliver'd up his Wife and Children into *Anthony*'s Hands. Near the Temple of *Iſis* ſhe had built a ſtately Building, deſign'd for a Sepulchre. Into this Place ſhe remov'd all her Treaſure, as Gold, Silver, Jewels, and other ſuch valuable things, and fill'd it beſides with Torches, Faggots, Tow, and other combuſtible Matter; ſo that *Octavius* was much afraid leſt out of Deſpair ſhe ſhould burn her ſelf in it, with all thoſe vaſt Riches. Therefore while he was marching towards *Alexandria*, he omitted no Occaſion of giving her Aſſurance of his Reſpect and kind Uſage. The nigh Approach of ſo formidable a Rival, began once more to rouze up *Anthony*, and reviv'd all thoſe Sparks of Greatneſs and Generoſity in his Breaſt that ſeem'd to have been wholly extinct. *Anthony* now knew that he had no Hopes but of dying like a *Roman*, and this he fully reſolv'd upon: So he rally'd all the Troops he had, made

made a brave Sally upon *Octavius*'s Horſe, and beat 'em into their Camp, which he put into Diſorder; nor did *Anthony* ever ſhew more Courage and Conduct than now. Upon this Victory, *Anthony* enter'd *Alexandria* as in Triumph, and went all arm'd to *Cleopatra*, to bring her the good News of his Succeſs, preſenting one of his Knights to her, who had behav'd himſelf bravely in the Fight. The Queen rewarded his Valour with an Armour of Gold; but that very Night, this ungrateful Wretch went over to *Octavius*, which dangerous Example much troubled *Anthony*. He try'd to provoke *Octavius*'s Temper, and challeng'd him to a ſingle Combat; but was coldly anſwer'd, *That* Anthony *had Ways enow to die without ſeeking that.*

Anthony now finding his Affairs in a dangerous Condition, reſolv'd to make the laſt Puſh both by Sea and Land, with a full Deſign to conquer honourably, or die bravely. He order'd his People to treat him chearfully, and fill him his Wine plentifully; *Perhaps*, ſaid he, *this may be the laſt Service you can do, for to morrow you may have another Maſter, while I lie extended upon the Ground, deſpis'd by all Mankind.* Finding his Friends much mov'd at this ſorrowful Diſcourſe, he added, *However, I will not do you ſo great an Injury as to lead ye where Death is more certain than Victory.* At the dead of Night, when the whole City was in a deep Silence, on a ſudden was heard a dreadful Noiſe of Voices, Inſtruments, and Cries, like thoſe of *Bacchanals*, which paſs'd thro' *Alexandria*, and went out of the Gate that look'd towards the Enemies Camp, as *Plutarch* relates it. At break of Day, *Anthony* poſted thoſe few Troops he had remaining upon the riſing Ground nigh the Town, from whence he ſent Orders to his Gallies to engage the Enemy. They advanc'd in Order of Battel; but as ſoon as *Anthony*'s Ships approach'd the other, the Soldiers all held down

down their Arms, and ſaluted *Octavius*'s; who returning the Salute, both Fleets join'd and ſtood over-againſt the City. All his Cavalry ſeeing this, left him, and went over to *Octavius*'s Camp, his Infantry being forc'd preſently to yield.

This unfortunate General, abandon'd thus by his Men, and finding he could not die with Glory in the Field, return'd back to *Alexandria*, overcome with a dreadful Rage and Fury, running and crying out, *That* Cleopatra *had betray'd him, when he had ruin'd all his Fortunes for her Sake alone!* The Queen hearing of this, in a great Fright retir'd to her Monument, ſecur'd the Doors, and let down the *Port-cullis*; and then made a Report to be ſpread, that ſhe was dead, which was ſoon brought to *Anthony*. This ſad and ſudden News recall'd all that Love and Tenderneſs he had for this Princeſs; *O wretched* Anthony, cry'd he, *What haſt thou here in this World, when Fate has ſnatch'd the only Thing for which thou cou'dſt endure to live?* Then retiring to his Cabinet, he laid aſide his Armour, and renew'd his Complaints; *O* Cleopatra, ſaid he, *our Separation is not my greateſt Grief, for we ſhall meet again; but what afflicts me moſt, is, that I, who have commanded ſo many gallant Men, ſhou'd be out-done by a Woman in Courage.* Immediately he call'd *Eros*, the moſt faithful of his Freed-Men, whom he had engag'd by Oath to kill him when he ſhould think it neceſſary, and now bad him perform his Promiſe. *Eros* drew out his Sword, as if he deſign'd to perform that fatal Duty; and turning aſide, gave himſelf a Wound, which threw him dead at his Maſter's Feet. *Dear Eros*, cry'd he, *I thank thee for teaching me to do what I ought my ſelf*; and upon that he thruſt himſelf into the Belly, and fell backwards upon his Bed. Tho' the Wound was mortal, yet the Blood ſtopping, he came to himſelf, and moſt earneſtly begg'd of his Friends to diſpatch him; but they all fled from him

him, leaving him in a miſerable Condition, toſſing and ſtruggling with the Anguiſh of his Pain, whilſt *Diomedes* came to carry him to *Cleopatra*.

Anthony underſtanding *Cleopatra* yet liv'd, begg'd and intreated in the moſt moving Manner in the World to be carry'd to her; and with much Difficulty and Pain they lifted him up to the Door of the Monument. *Cleopatra*, having only her two Women, durſt not open the Door, but let down Cords from the Window. All the People of *Alexandria* were preſent at this ſad Spectacle, and nothing appear'd ſo lamentable as to ſee this great Man, renown'd for ſo many Conqueſts and Victories, bath'd in his Blood, and juſt expiring, holding out his Hands to *Cleopatra*, and faintly endeavouring to raiſe himſelf; and to ſee this famous Queen ſtriving with her Body juſt out of the Window, with the feeble Aſſiſtance of her Women, to pull him up, the People all the time ſeeming to aſſiſt her with their Cries and Tears. When after much Pain ſhe had drawn him up, ſhe embrac'd him, and laid him gently upon her Bed, tearing all her Cloaths in a moſt violent Paſſion, beating her Face and Breaſt, and calling *Anthony her Lord, her Husband, her Emperor!* and tho' her own Misfortunes were very great and aſtoniſhing, yet ſhe forgot them all at the ſight of this deplorable Object. *Anthony* begg'd of her *to moderate her Grief and Tranſports*, and ask'd for ſome Wine, either becauſe he was thirſty, or becauſe he thought it wou'd ſoon end him. After he had drank, he exhorted *Cleopatra to endeavour to ſave her Life, if ſhe cou'd do it with Honour, and for that End* Proculus *wou'd be her beſt Friend in* Cæſar's *Camp; that ſhe wou'd not too deeply reflect upon the cruel Turn of Fortune which he felt in his laſt Days, but rather think what Glory and Renown he had liv'd in, famous for ſo many noble Victories, Triumphs and Dignities; and that after he had been the firſt*

Man

Man of the World, and the most Illustrious of all the Romans, *he was at last overcome by a* Roman.

At the finishing of this Discourse, *Anthony* expired, in the 53d Year of his Age; a Person of as great Spirit and Valour as any among the *Romans* since the Death of *Julius Cæsar*; yet soften'd, overcome, and entirely ruin'd by a Woman. His Death put an end to all the Civil Wars, and gave *Octavius* Opportunity to make his Fortunes as he pleas'd; and from this Period many Historians date his Reign; others three Years after; and some from *Julius Cæsar*'s Death. This happen'd in the 724th Year of the City, the 3d of the 187th *Olympiad*, and the 12th of the second *Triumvirate*, about 14 Years after *Julius Cæsar*'s Death, and 28 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. VII.

From the Death of Anthony, *to the perfect Settlement of the Empire by* Octavius; *which finish'd all Disturbances, and brought* Rome *to its utmost Glory.*

Containing the Space of about Three Years.

U. C. 724. I. *Octavius* shew'd great Satisfaction at his Success and Fortune; yet when *Anthony*'s bloody Sword wts brought to him, the Sight of it oblig'd him to retire into his Tent, where he cou'd not refrain from Tears, when he reflected upon the deplorable End of a Person so eminent both for Birth and Valour, and one with whom he had contracted so

ſo ſtrict a Friendſhip and Alliance. He call'd his Friends in, to whom he declar'd, *That he had contributed nothing to the Overthrow of* Anthony, *through any Hatred or Ambition*; ſhewing 'em the Copies of the Letters he had writ to him, which contain'd nothing but juſt and reaſonable Propoſals, and *Anthony*'s Anſwers full of Paſſion and Diſdain. After this he ſent *Proculus* to employ his utmoſt Addreſs to ſeize upon *Cleopatra*, extremely deſiring to ſave her Treaſure, but more eſpecially to grace his Triumph with this Queen, who had ſo long triumph'd over the *Roman* Commanders. *Cleopatra* refus'd *Proculus* Entrance, but through the Door demanded *Ægypt* for her Children; which caus'd *Proculus*, after obſerving the Avenues of the Monument, to return to *Octavius*, who the ſame Inſtant ſent *Gallus* with him to make her new Propoſitions. While *Gallus* was diſcourſing with *Cleopatra* below, *Proculus* with two others enter'd by the Window at which *Anthony* had been drawn up; which one of her Women perceiving, preſently ſhreek'd out, *Wretched Princeſs, thou art taken alive!* Upon which *Cleopatra* turn'd quick, and drew out her Dagger to ſtab her ſelf; but *Proculus* caught hold of her, ſaying, *Madam, will you at once injure your ſelf and* Cæſar, *in depriving him of the moſt illuſtrious Teſtimony he can give of his Generoſity; and make the beſt and gentleſt Prince in the World paſs for Cruel and Barbarous?* Whereupon he diſarm'd her, ſearch'd her leſt any Poiſon ſhou'd be conceal'd about her; and after he had ſecur'd her, he return'd to *Octavius* with this joyful News.

Octavius was extremely ſatisfy'd to find this haughty Queen at his Diſpoſal, who before had lifted the Crown of *Ægypt* above the Empire of the *Romans*. He firſt commanded *Epaphroditus* to guard her with the greateſt Care, and yet to ſerve her like a Queen; after which he made his Entrance into *Alexandria*

after a ſolemn and pompous Manner. The Majeſty of *Octavius*, follow'd by ſo many arm'd Soldiers, who breath'd nothing but Deſtruction, drove the *Ægyptians* into great Fears and Apprehenſions, imploring his Mercy upon their Knees. *Octavius* told 'em, *He pardon'd 'em for the ſake of their illuſtrious Founder* Alexander, *for the extraordinary Beauty of the City, and for his great Eſteem he had for* Arrius, *their Fellow-Citizen and Philoſopher.* Several Kings, Princes, and *Roman* Senators, begg'd of him the Body of *Anthony*, to pay their laſt Reſpects to him; but he wou'd not deprive *Cleopatra* of a Satisfaction ſo dear to her; and more than that, he took Care to furniſh her with what was needful for the Pomp of the Funeral, which ſhe ſolemnized with extraordinary Magnificence. *Octavius* took further Care that nothing ſhou'd occaſion the Increaſe of *Cleopatra*'s Afflictions; but the Greatneſs of her Soul, and the Nobleneſs of her Courage, made the Loſs of her Liberty inſupportable to her. Her exceſſive Melancholy, and the many Blows ſhe had given her Breaſts, put her into a ſlow Feaver, which gave her great Hopes of ending her Sorrows, and her Life in a ſhort time. She had beſides reſolv'd to abſtain from Eating, if her Phyſician had not diſcovered this Secret ſhe had truſted him with to *Octavius*, who immediately threaten'd to put her Children all to Death, if ſhe perſiſted in her Obſtinacy: This was the only thing ſhe could be ſenſible of, and the Thoughts of this caus'd her to comply, and receive whatever they preſcrib'd her.

After this, *Octavius* reſolv'd to viſit *Cleopatra*, and by his Civilities give her freſh Aſſurance of his Favour. He found her upon a plain Bed, and as ſoon as ſhe perceiv'd him, ſhe roſe in her Shift to throw her ſelf at his Feet, with her Hair in diſorder, her Face torn, her Breaſts bruis'd, her Eyes red with weep-

weeping, and her Voice weak and trembling; all which Accidents cou'd not deface the Brightneſs of her Eyes, nor the charming Air of her Face. *Octavius* civily lifted her up, and ſat down by her, and immediately ſhe enter'd upon the juſtifying her Conduct; but when her Art and Skill fail'd her againſt manifeſt Proofs, ſhe turn'd her Diſcourſe into humble Supplications, and deliver'd him an Inventory of all her Treaſure and Jewels. *Seleucus*, her Treaſurer, accuſing her of concealing ſeveral things, *Cleopatra*, in a great Rage, threw her ſelf out of her Bed, dragg'd him by the Hair, and beat him ſeverely; which ſome think was only a Pretence of ſhewing *Octavius* her beautiful Shape and Body, which ſhe had too great a Confidence in. However *Octavius* only ſmil'd at this Action, and led the Queen to her Bed. *O* Cæſar, cry'd ſhe, *after the Honour of Viſiting me in this miſerable Condition, is it not cruel and barbarous, that a vile Slave ſhou'd accuſe me of laying aſide a few Trifles; alas, not to adorn my ſelf, but to preſent 'em to* Livia *and* Octavia, *that their generous Interceſſion may in ſome meaſure procure your Favour?* This Diſcourſe gave great Satisfaction to *Octavius*, imagining it imply'd a Deſire ſhe had of living; and thereupon he aſſur'd her, *She might keep her Jewels, and that he wou'd uſe her more generouſly than ſhe cou'd reaſonably hope for*; and ſo retir'd, much ſatisfied with his Succeſs, having, as he ſuppos'd, overreach'd her.

Cleopatra being ſoon after inform'd by *Dolabella*, one of *Octavius*'s Favourites, and her Admirer, that *Octavius* had reſolv'd within three Days to ſend her and her Children away, earneſtly begg'd of *Octavius* to ſuffer her to pay her laſt Oblations to the Memory of *Anthony*, which he granted her. Whereupon ſhe was carry'd to the ſtately Sepulchre where *Anthony* was laid; and only attended by her two

Women, ſhe fell upon her Knees, embrac'd his Tomb with extreme Grief and Paſſion; and after a Flood of Tears, ſhe cry'd, *My deareſt Lord, I was a Queen, and wore no Chains when I firſt plac'd thee in this Monument, but now I pay my Duties. I'm Fortune's Slave; my ſervile Body is reſerv'd to grace the Triumph of thy Foes, on which I dare not ſo much as print the Marks of my Grief. Theſe Tears, theſe Pangs of Grief, are the laſt Tokens of the Love and Duty of thy* Cleopatra, *who now muſt be forc'd far from thee: No Chance cou'd ſeparate us while living, but our cruel Deſtiny will part us in our Deaths: And as by a ſtrange Turn of Fate* Ægypt *has afforded thee a Tomb, ſo* Rome *will me, the only Courteſie I ſhall receive from thy Country: Yet I hope the Heavenly Powers that guard your happy Abode, (for ours have betray'd us) will ſtem the Conqueror's Pride, and ſuffer him not to triumph over thee in my Perſon. Hide me therefore here, and receive me into thy Tomb; for among all my bitter Griefs and heavy Afflictions, none e'er preſs'd my Soul ſo hard as living thus long without thee.*

Upon the finiſhing of theſe ſad Lamentations, ſhe crown'd the Tomb with Garlands and Flowers, embracing it as if ſhe deſign'd to grow to it, till her Women took her from thence to a Bath; after which ſhe attir'd her ſelf after a moſt gorgeous manner, and eat as ſumptuouſly as ſhe cou'd. After Dinner ſhe clear'd the Room of all except *Iras* and *Charmia*; and having procur'd an Aſp to be ſecretly brought in among Figs, Grapes, and Flowers, ſhe apply'd it to her Arm; juſt before which ſhe ſent a Letter to *Octavius*, wherein ſhe moſt paſſionately complain'd of her hard Fate, and very earneſtly beſeech'd him, *That it might be permitted her to be buried in the ſame Tomb with* Anthony. *Octavius* in all haſte ſent ſome Meſſengers, who found her dead upon a Golden Bed, adorn'd with her Royal Robes, in Poſture of one

one asleep, with *Iras* also dead at her Feet, and *Charmia* just breathing, and placing her Diadem right. One of the Messengers very angrily ask'd, *Is this well done*, Charmia? *Extremely well*, reply'd she, *and becoming a Princess descended from so noble a Race of Monarchs*; at which she expir'd at her Mistress's Feet. *Octavius* was extremely troubled at *Cleopatra*'s Death, as being depriv'd of the noblest Ornament of his Triumph: However, he cou'd not but admire the Greatness of her Courage, who, notwithstanding the Weakness of her Sex, preferr'd Death before the Loss of her Liberty, or the Appearing below her Quality. He order'd her a magnificent Funeral, laying her Body by *Anthony*'s, according to her Desire; and her Women were interr'd with considerable Pomp in Memory of their Fidelity. She was then thirty eight Years of Age, having reign'd twenty two, twelve whereof she pass'd with *Anthony*; and her Death put an end to the *Ægyptian* Kingdom, which had flourish'd for many Ages. Her Son *Cæsario*, which she had by *Julius Cæsar*, was shortly after slain by *Octavius*'s Orders, who was told by *Arrius* the Philosopher, *That many* Cæsars *were of dangerous Consequence*. *Ægypt* was now intirely reduc'd into a Province, and *Octavius* caus'd his Soldiers to cleanse the Chanels of the *Nile*, which much improv'd the Fertility of the Soil: And since this Kingdom much enlarg'd the *Roman* Dominions, especially as to Riches, and his entire Victories brought Peace to the *Roman* State, at his Return he was receiv'd at *Rome* with an universal Joy and Satisfaction, as a Person who had put an End to the Miseries and Calamities in the greatest Part of the World. He triumph'd three Days; for *Illyrium*, for the Battel of *Actium*, and the Conquest of *Ægypt*, with extraordinary Splendor and Magnificence; all which were attended with a happy shutting of

the Temple of *Janus*, which had ſtood open 205 Years.

U. C. 725. II. *Octavius Cæſar* now finding himſelf Lord and Governor of the *Roman* Empire, partly by the Authority with which the People had at ſeveral times inveſted him, and partly by the Ruin of his Enemies; after this reſolv'd to exerciſe all the Clemency of a ſweet-temper'd Prince, and all the Cunning of an exquiſite Politician. To aſſure himſelf of *Anthony*'s Adherents was his firſt and principal Care, to which End he publickly reported, that he had burnt all *Anthony*'s Letters and Papers, without reading them; well knowing, that as long as any thought themſelves ſuſpected Adverſaries, they wou'd never ſhew themſelves real Friends. To the Senators and Magiſtrates he made ſumptuous Feaſts and Treats; to the *Plebeians* and Common Sort he exhibited magnificent Shows and Plays; and both he entertain'd with ſuch Variety of Pleaſures, as might reaſonably baniſh their Sorrows for the old *Proſcription*, and remove their Fears of a new. With great Wiſdom and Dexterity he regulated many Abuſes and Corruptions in the State; and tho' he would not give up the leaſt part of his Authority, yet he exercis'd it with that Diſcretion and Moderation, that the Commonwealth was more happy under his Government, than when it enjoy'd all its Privileges. He allow'd the People all their due Liberties, only retrench'd the Liberty of making Factions and Diſſentions in the State, and to the Senate he reſtor'd their ancient Splendour, but baniſh'd their late Corruption: He contented himſelf with a moderate Power, which wou'd not afford him the Freedom of doing Ill; but he made it abſolute, when it impos'd upon others the Neceſſity of doing Well. So that the People were not leſs free, but in Mat-

Matters of Sedition; nor the Senate leſs powerful, but in Matters of Injuſtice; and the *Romans* ſeem'd to have loſt nothing of the Happineſs that Liberty might produce, but only the Misfortunes it might occaſion.

Octavius having eſtabliſh'd ſo good an Order, found himſelf extremely embaraſs'd with various Thoughts and Opinions, and long conſider'd with himſelf, whether he ought to retain the Government of the Empire, or reſtore the People to their firſt Liberty. The eminent Examples of *Sylla* and *Julius Cæſar* put him to many Doubts and Scruples, when he conſider'd that the former, who had voluntarily quitted his Authority, dy'd peaceably in the midſt of his Enemies; and the latter, for retaining of it, was aſſaſſinated by his moſt intimate Friends. But then he conſider'd on the other ſide, that the Commonwealth had been ſo extremely harraſs'd and broken by violent Factions and Civil Wars, that the Yoke wou'd prove their greateſt Relief, eſpecially as he wou'd manage it. He found likewiſe that the People of *Rome* had loſt moſt of their ancient Vigour and Deſire of Liberty, and the Senate as much of its ancient Firmneſs and Reſolution; and that there were ſuch numerous Corruptions and ſuch dangerous Diſtempers in the State, that nothing but a Change cou'd cure or correct 'em. As he conſider'd that both Senate and People never wanted a Head ſo much as at preſent, the Advantage of which they were in this ſhort time ſenſible of, ſo theſe Conſiderations gave him great Hopes, and almoſt as great Reſolutions. However, this moſt wary Prince thought it highly neceſſary for his own Security to conſult his two intimate Friends *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, the former moſt famous for his Courage and Valour, and the latter for his great natural Endowments. *Octavius* taking theſe two into his Cloſet,

ſet, ask'd their Advice, telling 'em among other things, *That they were his Friends, therefore he had made 'em his Judges, as Men that were able to ſpeak Soundly, and willing to ſpeak Freely: That he knew 'em to have a greater Care of his Honour than his Profit, but more of the Commonwealth than of both.*

Agrippa return'd the firſt Anſwer to this purpoſe: *You may well admire, my generous Lord, that I, who am certain of an uncommon Promotion under your Empire, ſhou'd adviſe you to a private Retirement, but ſince I eſteem your Honour above my own Profit, and the Publick Good before my particular Preferment, I am ſure you will pardon me. You have now gloriouſly finiſh'd the Civil Wars, and brought an honourable Peace to your Country; but what will the Advantage be, without a Reſtoration of that Liberty for which thoſe Wars were begun? Or what Benefit can the People reap from ſo noble a Victory, if it be us'd only as an Inſtrument for their greater Slavery? A Word ſo odious to the* Roman *Nation, that whenever that has ſeem'd to have been aim'd at by any Perſon, no Vertues cou'd ſhield him, no Merits protect him, no Services ſecure him from the Rage of the People; no, not thoſe of your great Father* Julius: *And can you hope to eſcape? But ſay, That the Divine Power ſhou'd ſo protect you as to out-live ſuch Dangers, wou'd you alſo out-live your Glories? Are you willing that Poſterity ſhould brand you with Tyranny, and perhaps with Baſeneſs, in curbing and putting a ſtop to the Fame and Grandeur of your Country? A Country which has gain'd all its Renown and Reputation, and owes all its great and glorious Acts to a Government quite contrary to what you ſeem inclin'd; and a Government under which other Nations have generally been moſt proſperous and flouriſhing. Therefore your Generoſity ſhou'd lead you to ſet your Country free, and ſince you are already Maſter of the Worlds Forces, and without Rival in the Empire, and have both Senate and People at your Mercy; to do it now would ſtrike all Detraction dumb, and make future*

future Ages ſtand amaz'd at the Greatneſs of your Temper.

Mecænas on the other ſide declar'd his Thoughts after this manner: *Be not deceiv'd, moſt noble Prince, with the ſpecious Shew of Words and Names; but ſince juſt Heaven has ordain'd you a Father, as well as a Maſter of your Country, rather hearken to her real Wants and Neceſſities, than to the fallacious Clamours of the Rabble, who, like Children, cry for what wou'd prove their Ruin. Our Republick is a Ship fraught with Multitudes of various Nations, and deſtitute of a Pilot, which for many Years has been miſerably toſs'd and ſhatter'd, and is now ready to be caſt away, without your relieving Hand to ſave it. In former times indeed this thriving Empire did not ſeem to want a Monarch; but it is now grown too vaſt and unweildy, to ſubſiſt without one. Formerly the ſtrictneſs of the* Roman *Diſcipline and Morality, and the Fears of rival Nations, kept the Commonwealth from ſinking: Yet in thoſe pure Times, what Commotions in State, what Revolutions in Government, what Diviſions and Diſtractions were occaſion'd by the* Tribunes *Rage and Peoples Madneſs?* Camillus, Rome's *ſecond Founder, and* Scipio, *that Scourge of* Carthage, *were diſgrac'd, and the great* Coriolanus *baniſh'd, only becauſe their Worth alone had lifted 'em above the ordinary Pitch of Subjects. But then to mention all the numerous Troubles and dreadful Miſeries of theſe latter Times, were to revive our Sorrows, which you in a great meaſure have allay'd; and ſince by your Means your Country has recover'd ſome of her Spirits, it is your Duty to eſtabliſh her in perfect Health, which can be no ways done but by retaining the Empire. And this Advice is not only for the Good of your Country, but alſo for the Security of your Perſon: For the reſigning of your Authority wou'd be the parting with your Safety.* Pompey *was contemn'd after the Disbanding of his Army at* Brunduſium; *and tho' your Uncle* Julius *fell, it was not for retaining his Power, but for graſping of it too ſtrongly,*

ſtrongly, which you know better how to manage. In the gaining of an Empire, there is no Medium between the Death of an Enemy, and the Life of a Prince; and ſince you have already gone ſo far, you muſt either reſolve to be Greateſt in the State, or leaſt among the People, to be Cæſar *or Nothing.*

Octavius thank'd 'em both for their friendly Advice, and after ſome dubious Expreſſions, declar'd himſelf rather inclin'd to *Mecænas*'s Opinion; withal telling them, *That he was but the Inſtrument of the Deſtinies, to put their Wills in Execution; and ſince they had already ſhewn themſelves ſo favourable to him, he had all the Reaſon to hope that his Friends wou'd not be backward in their Councils, or any other neceſſary Aſſiſtance.* Upon which *Mecænas* proceeded to give him many wiſe Inſtructions and Directions, how to manage his Affairs to the beſt Advantage, both as to his Countries Happineſs, and his own Security, as may be ſeen at large in *Dion Caſſius.* Among a great many other things, he told him, *That his virtuous Behaviour wou'd be a greater Security to him than all his Forces: That if the People found him modeſt and unblameable in his Life, not exacting Money from others while he abounded in Riches, not pinching others while he was luxurious, nor puniſhing others while he was looſe and licentious, they would certainly love and honour him as a true Father and Preſerver of his Country.* But this he told him as his principal Rule by which he ought to guide himſelf; *Always to preſerve the Love of his Subjects; and if he wou'd do exactly as he himſelf wou'd expect from his Prince, if he were a Subject, then he ſhou'd not fail of being proſperous in his Deſigns, happy in his Life, and famous in Hiſtory.* He concluded all with telling him, *That if in taking upon him the Sovereign Power, he fear'd the Name of Kingdom as odious, he might omit that, and manage all under the Title of* Cæſar: *If he thought not that ſufficient, they wou'd give him*

him that of Imperator, *and wou'd adorn him with ſome other venerable Note of Honour; ſo that he might enjoy all the Privileges of a* Kingdom *without the envious Name of a* King, *which the* Romans *could not endure.* All theſe things confirm'd *Cæſar* in his former Opinions; and from this time he began to purſue his Deſigns with more Care and Diligence than ever.

III. The *Romans* were now arriv'd to their utmoſt Height as to polite Learning, and an exquiſite Taſte of Things, as appears from their ſeveral Writings: For beſides *Virgil*, formerly mention'd, at this time flouriſh'd the two great Wits, *Ovid* and *Horace*, the pleaſanteſt and perfecteſt Poets in their Kinds; and likewiſe *Livy*, the Prince of all the *Roman* Hiſtorians; all which had a great ſhare in *Octavius*'s Familiarity, as well as *Mecænas*'s. *Octavius* was a great Promoter of all ſorts of Learning, and having brought a General Peace to the *Roman* Empire, he had a fairer Opportunity both of encouraging that, and of following his other Deſigns. He had an admirable Faculty of diſcerning and penetrating into the Humours and Ambitions of the principal Men; in which he was much aſſiſted by the Letters found in *Anthony*'s Coffers, which he carefully preſerv'd, and ſecretly made uſe of as he found Occaſion. As for Words and Libels, he took little or no notice of, having learnt that both from his Uncle *Julius* and *Mecænas*, *Never to be concern'd at what was ſpoken againſt him.* And this Maxim he found much to his Advantage; for by this he not only underſtood the Minds and Affections of the People more eaſily, but perceiv'd that as long as the Common Sort retain'd this Liberty of Speech, they were the leſs ſenſible of the Loſs of Liberty in State.

Octavius

Octavius was now in his fifth Conſulſhip, and by the Advice of *Mecænas*, he took upon him the Title of *Imperator*, not in that Senſe it was anciently wont to be given for Victories obtain'd, but in reſpect of the chief Command or Authority, as it had been decreed to his Uncle *Julius*. And the great Induſtry of *Agrippa* was no leſs ſerviceable to him than the wiſe Counſels of *Mecænas*; and notwithſtanding he had at firſt adviſ'd him to contrary Methods, he now prov'd as uſeful an Aſſiſtant as the other. Shortly after he was made *Cenſor*, and *Agrippa* with him; and among other things belonging to his Office, he took great Care to purge and reform the Senate, into which many *Equites* and unworthy *Plebeians* had crept, during the late Civil Wars, and then increas'd their Number to a Thouſand, which his Uncle had brought to nine Hundred. All this he did with great Moderation and Diſcretion, always ſhewing much Reſpect to that venerable Aſſembly; and tho' he continually diminiſh'd their Power and Authority, he ſtill preſerv'd their ancient Glory and Dignity, well knowing that *Julius*'s Contempt of the Senate, did moſt of all forward his Ruin; he put two Perſons, namely, *Cluilius* and *Furnius*, into the Rank of *Conſulares*, becauſe they had been deſign'd for Conſuls, tho' prevented by others. He alſo rank'd certain Families among the *Patricians*, becauſe moſt of thoſe had periſh'd in the late Wars. One great and publick Way of bridling the Nobility, was his publiſhing an Edict, forbidding any *Senator* to travel out of *Italy* without his Leave; a thing very ſtrictly obſerv'd by his Succeſſors: For he well knew that the Preſence and Authority of Perſons of that honourable Rank might raiſe great Commotions in an unſettled State. Yet not wholly to impriſon 'em, he gave 'em Liberty

1000 *Senators.*

to

to viſit *Sicily*, and *Gallia Narbonnenſis*, Provinces adjoining to the Continent of *Italy*, altogether unfurniſh'd for Wars, and by reaſon of their Variety of Pleaſures, more likely to weaken their Minds, than to arm their Bodies.

In the following Year, *Octavius* having enter'd upon his ſixth Conſulſhip, together with *Agrippa* his Collegue, made a *Luſtrum*, which was many Years after the laſt Celebration of one, and in this were four Millions and 63 Thouſand Polls of *Romans*, in which Number muſt be reckon'd all Women, Children, Servants, and Slaves; a Number almoſt incredible, if compar'd with the preſent Cities of the World, but the leſs, if we conſider the prodigious bigneſs of the City and Suburbs, which good Authors affirm to have been fifty Miles in Compaſs at this time. *Octavius* at that time likewiſe celebrated Games, which had been decreed in Memory of his Victory at *Actium*, and it was order'd that they ſhou'd be renew'd every fifty Year, four Colleges of Prieſts taking care of 'em; namely, the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, *Septemviri*, and *Quindecemviri*, by Courſes. He caus'd many other delightful Games and Exerciſes to be made, all at his own Coſt and Charges, uſing all poſſible Methods to divert the People from fixing their Minds upon his Actions, and their ancient Freedom. He order'd that two Perſons of *Prætorian* Rank ſhou'd yearly over-ſee the Treaſury, and gave to the People four times as much Corn as they were wont to have; to ſome Senators he gave Money, ſome of this Rank being ſo poor, that they cou'd not bear Offices belonging to their Dignity. All Engagements and Debts to the Exchequer he made void that ſtood good before the Battel at *Actium*, except what concern'd Buildings. He ſuffer'd no Sacrifice to be offer'd to *Ægyptian* Gods with-

U. C. 726.

in

in the *Pomærium*, and took great Care about ſettling Religion, and repairing of the Temples. And becauſe many unjuſt Things had been ordain'd during the late Seditions and Civil Wars, eſpecially in the laſt *Triumvirate*, he made 'em all void by one Edict, and caus'd 'em to ceaſe from his ſixth Conſulſhip. Thus *Octavius* more and more ſettled the Peace of the City, and gain'd the Hearts and Affections of the People.

U. C. 727. IV. *Octavius* now entring upon his ſeventh Conſulſhip, and finding all Matters ripe for his Purpoſe, he went to the Senate-houſe, after he had prepar'd all the Senators who were for his Intereſt, and in a ſtudied Speech ſpoke to this Effect: *When I conſider with my ſelf the immenſe Greatneſs and boundleſs Extent of the* Roman Empire, *I am ſtrucken with Surprize, nay, and Amazement, to imagine that any Mortal dare undertake the ſole Adminiſtration of ſo vaſt a State. What Nation hath not either begg'd Peace at our Gates, or felt the Fury of our Arms at their own? And what Countries have not we conquer'd and brought to Subjection; making the Riſing and Setting of the Sun the Bounds of our Dominions? Therefore it muſt proceed from a wild and extravagant Opinion of their own Abilities, when they pretended to bear that Burden which none but the Immortal Gods cou'd ſuſtain. As for my own Part, who may with Modeſty affirm, that I have put an End to all Domeſtick Wars, and have brought Peace to the City, I dare not preſume to attempt it. Tho' I am invited to it by all the powerful Charms of commanding the greateſt People upon Earth, and the moſt glorious Empire next Heaven, and alſo entic'd by the faireſt Opportunity of eſtabliſhing my ſelf that ever* Roman *had; yet I freely diveſt my ſelf of all that Power and Authority, which my Arms have gain'd, and you have given me: An Action which I preſume is no leſs glo-*

rious

rious than juſt, far exceeding the Conqueſts of Gaul, *of* Britain, *and of* Ægypt; *an Action no leſs hardy than thoſe bold Performances of* Cocles, *of* Scævola, *of* Curtius, *of* Regulus, *and of the* Decii. *And further to ſhew you, that the true Spirit of the ancient* Romans *is not extinct in me, I do not only reſtore to you all your former Laws and Privileges, and ſuch Things as I have been intruſted with, but likewiſe all that I have further acquir'd ſince my firſt Authority; and may this Action prove auſpicious and fortunate to my Country.*

Octavius enlarg'd much upon the Particulars, and upon the finiſhing his Speech, the Minds of the Senators were variouſly affected. Many knew his Deſign, and therefore agreed with his Intentions; the reſt either ſuſpected his Aim, or believ'd his Words. Of theſe, ſome admir'd his Policy in concealing his Purpoſes; others were concern'd at his Deſign, ſome at his Cunning, and others at his Refuſal of the Government. Many hated the popular Form of Government as dangerous in theſe Times, and approv'd of the Change, being well ſatisfy'd with *Octavius*'s Adminiſtration. Moſt of the reſt being worn and weary'd out with their many vain Strugglings for their Liberty, and very deſirous of Eaſe and Reſt, choſe rather the Preſent Eſtate with Security, than to ſtrive to recover the Old with Danger. So that the Product of their ſeveral Affections were the ſame; for thoſe who wiſh'd he was reduc'd to a private Condition, were very fearful of what might follow; and ſuch as deſir'd he might retain his Power, were as ſorry for the Loſs of their Hopes. Neither cou'd they who did not believe him, reprehend him; for ſome wanted the Will, and others the Courage to do it. No Man, whether he believ'd his Speech or not, durſt commend it, be-

becauſe a great many were diſpleaſed with it, and as many afraid of it. Wherefore having often interrupted him whilſt ſpeaking, ſoon after he had done, they unanimouſly beſought him with many Words and Intreaties, *That he alone wou'd take upon him the Adminiſtration of the Government*; and after many Arguments and Perſuaſions, they compell'd him, as it were, to accept of the Sovereignty. And that his Perſon might be more ſafely preſerv'd, they immediately decreed the Pay of his Guard to be double to that of all other Soldiers.

Thus *Octavius Cæſar*, by his Artifice of pretending to lay down all his Power and Authority, got it confirm'd to him both by Senate and People. Yet that he might ſeem to be Popular, he refus'd to govern all the Provinces, or to have a perpetual Power over ſuch as he ſhou'd take care of; therefore the weaker and inward Provinces being in a more peaceable Poſture, he left to the Senate; the moſt powerful and outward Provinces, and thoſe moſt expos'd to Enemies, he kept to himſelf, ſaying, *That he deſir'd that the Fathers might enjoy their Power with all Eaſe and Safety, while he himſelf ſhou'd undergo all the Labour and Danger.* But by this politick Contrivance, he render'd the Senate uſeleſs and of no effect, and by this he engroſs'd all the Soldiers and Militia to himſelf. To the Senate and People were left *Africk* and *Numidia*, *Libya* call'd *Cyrenaica*, *Aſia Minor*, *Greece*, with *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, *Macedonia*, *Crete*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and that Part of *Spain* call'd *Bætica*. *Cæſar* kept the reſt of *Spain*, all *Gaul* and *Germany*, as alſo *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Ægypt*, *&c.* which were Frontier Provinces. Over theſe Provinces he aſſum'd the Government but for ten Years, well remembring how dangerous the Word *Perpetual* had been to his Uncle *Julius*; and adding, *That as ſoon as he cou'd quiet them, he*

he wou'd quit his Power. After this he ſet over the Provinces of both ſorts of Men of *Patritian* Dignity, but over *Egppt* one of the *Equeſtrian* Rank only, and with the loweſt Title of all other Governours, fearing leſt a Perſon of the higheſt Rank, preſuming upon the Wealth and Situation of that Country, ſhould prove dangerous to the *Roman* State. He allotted *Africk* and *Aſia* to Senators, and the reſt of the Provinces to *Prætorians*; but forbidding either to take upon 'em this Employment within five Years after they had born Offices in the City. They held their Government but for a Year; and as ſoon as Succeſſors were ſent 'em, they were immediately to depart the Provinces, and not to fail of being at *Rome* within three Months.

As ſoon as *Octavius* had but made his Oration about reſigning his Command, and diſtributing the Provinces, many Honours were conferr'd on him, as that Laurel ſhou'd be planted before his Gates in the *Palatium*, and upon thoſe Trees Oaken Garlands to be hung, as for one who was a perpetual Conqueror of Enemies, and Preſerver of Citizens. The Houſe of the Emperor alſo was for the future call'd the *Palatium* or *Palace*, not by any Decree, but becauſe *Octavius* liv'd on the *Palatium* or *Palatine Hill*, and there was his *Prætorium*: His Houſe alſo receiv'd ſome Dignity from the Mount it ſelf, becauſe *Romulus* liv'd there; therefore afterwards, if the Emperors were remov'd elſewhere, yet the Houſes were ſtill call'd *Palatia*, or *Palaces*. Immediately after the Provinces were divided, and all Publick Affairs ſettled, it was debated in the Senate, Whether *Octavius* ought to have the Title of *Romulus*, becauſe he had founded the Empire; but the more venerable Name of *AUGUSTUS*, propounded by *Munacius Plancus*, at length ſeem'd Palatium. Auguſtus.

moſt agreeable; for ſacred Places and Temples conſecrated by *Augurs* were term'd *Auguſta* by the *Romans*. *Cæſar*, tho' he much deſir'd that of *Romulus*, yet perceiving he ſhou'd be ſuſpected of affecting the Title of *King*, declin'd it, and was ſurnam'd *Auguſtus*, intimating ſomething in him more than *Mortal*; and this he accepted of, as a Title expreſſing more Dignity and Reverence, than Authority. And Things are call'd *Auguſta*, which are moſt worthy of Honour, and moſt Sacred; wherefore the *Greeks* expreſs it by Σέβας, or *Venerable*. From this Day forward began the Sovereign Power and Authority to be in the Hands of one Man, and by a Law call'd *Lex Regia*, all the Power of the People and Senate was transferr'd upon *Auguſtus*. When his ten Years were expir'd, ten more were added, and after that as many more, ſo that he had his Authority ſtill continu'd for his Life; for which Cauſe his Succeſſors, tho' they had the Power ſettled on 'em for the Term of Life, yet at the End of every ten Years, ſolemniz'd as it were the Renewing of it.

Thus *Auguſtus Cæſar* became Supreme Governour of the *Roman* People, neither by Inheritance, nor Uſurpation, nor Conqueſt, nor Election, yet by means of 'em all. This great Change of Government happen'd in the 727th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3978, in the ſecond Year of the 188th *Olympiad*, 482 Years ſince the Beginning of the *Conſular State*, 303 ſince the Beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire, 33 ſince the Beginning of the *Mix'd State*, 17 ſince the Death of *Julius Cæſar*, and 25 before our Saviour's Nativity.

Here ended the greateſt *Commonwealth* in the World, and at the ſame time began the greateſt *Monarchy*; a Monarchy ſo well fix'd, and firmly ſettled, that not all the Tyrannical Carriage of thoſe Monſters

Monſters of Men that ſucceeded *Auguſtus*, cou'd ſhake it; a Monarchy, which if it be conſider'd with others, as to its Power and Riches, together with its Extent and Continuance, there is ſcarce any room left for Compariſon; and a Monarchy which the *Romans*, for many Years, believ'd Indiſſoluble and Immortal. The *Roman* Dominions were now almoſt brought to their utmoſt Extent, containing in *Europe*, *Italy*, both the *Gauls*, *Spain*, *Greece*, *Illyricum*, *Dacia*, *Panonia*, with ſome Part of *Britain* and *Germany*: In *Aſia*, all thoſe Provinces which went under the Name of *Aſia Minor*, *Armenia*, *Syria*, *Judæa*, with Part of *Meſopotamia* and *Media*; and in *Africa*, *Egypt*, *Africk*, *Numidia*, *Mauritania*, and *Lybia*; beſides many Iſlands, and ſome Parts of other Provinces. All which comprehended the greateſt, and far the beſt Part of *Europe*, with very large Parts of *Aſia* and *Africa*, being no leſs than between 3 and 4000 Miles in length, and about half as much in breadth. As to the yearly Revenues of the Empire, by a moderate Computation, it has been reckon'd at nigh forty Millions of our Money, whereof *Gaul* paid five, and that without being extremely burthenſome to the People. But what ſtill makes it ſeem greater, is what *Veſpaſian* told the Senate at his coming to the Empire, that he wanted 40000000 of *Seſtertiums* to ſettle the Commonwealth, which amounts to 312000000 of our Money.

As for the *Romans* themſelves, they had now nothing ſo elevated a Temper, either for the Greatneſs of Genius, or the Force of the Soul, as in ſome time in the Republick; but had ſomething more Polite and Sociable; and never were more glorious, or at leaſt more pleaſant, Times than now, all Wars and Conteſts ceaſing, all Arts and Sciences flouriſhing, and all Riches and Pleaſures increaſing.

In short, *Augustus* made the World happy, and was happy in the World; he had nothing to desire of the Publick, nor the Publick of him: And considering the many Evils he occasion'd before he came to the Empire, and the great Good he did after he was Emperor, it was said with good Reason, *That he shou'd never have been born, or never have dy'd.* But for his Actions afterwards, and his further Settlement of the Empire, I must leave to the other Volume of this History.

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